THE Nation

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The Shape of Things

THE BOGOTA CONFERENCE ENDED WITH AN outward show of accomplishment that scarcely concealed a profoundly uneasy, unsatisfactory series of meetings. The last day witnessed the solemn ratification, with Simón Bolívar's home as a symbolic setting, of the treaty-charter of the new Organization of the American States. This formalizes the present inter-American relationship as a regional group under the United Nations, with the governing board of the Pan-American Union reconstituted as its Permanent Council. But little is changed by the act. Collective-defense arrangements as decided upon at Rio in 1947 were in effect reaffirmed and a new treaty was signed consolidating existing agreements on the peaceful settlement of disputes. A rather important declaration on diplomatic relations provided that recognition of a government does not imply approval of its policies; this reverses the usual, but not invariable, State Department practice of withholding diplomatic recognition of a regime established by force. The anti-Communist agreement caused most talk. With the help of the Bogotá mob, it went through unanimously, but only after the United States and a few reactionary Latin American governments agreed to include a reference to fascism—"communism or any totalitarianism" was the accepted wording—and a stronger emphasis on democracy and improved living standards. But the apparent indifference of the United States to the general economic misery that gives communism an increasing hold on the workers of the hemisphere aroused general mistrust. On all major issues, beginning with this one and ending with the question of providing explicit protection of private foreign investments in the charter of the new inter-American organization, our delegates stood stoutly for the most conservative available position. We got our way, but at a cost we have yet to reckon.

*

THE STRIKE SET BY THREE OF THE RAILWAY brotherhoods for May 11 will presumably take place unless in the meantime they can reach an agreement with the managements. No effective railway strike can last long; it would immediately cripple the life of the country. That makes it a dangerous expedient for the unions. One can only hold one's breath in the hope that it will not occur. What is the matter with the law, devised by railway unions and managements themselves, under which labor adjustment was conducted for twenty years without any serious stoppage? It broke down in 1946 when the trainmen and conductors went out; now it seems to have failed in the case of the engineers, firemen, and switchmen. Part of the trouble is this extraordinary period of inflation, with a rapid rise in the cost of living and wide upward adjustments in money wages. Another part is that the brotherhoods are not acting together, as they always used to do. In 1936, the trainmen and conductors placed themselves in an exposed position by refusing to accept an increase already sanctioned by the other unions. Now the engineers and firemen are trying the same tactics. The Railway Labor Act has backfired because of (a) too rich an inflationary mixture; (b) trouble with the timing, so that some cylinders fail to fire in phase with the others. We doubt whether any modification in the law can remedy this maladjustment. Unions, management, and government can make this law work as well as any if they will only exercise a little statesmanship.

*

PHILIP MURRAY IS A MAN WHO NORMALLY weighs his words carefully. His charge that Henry Wallace's party owes its origin to the Communists cannot be dismissed as the ranting of a professional bigot. Specifically, Murray traced the third party's inauguration to a Communist Party meeting held in New York in October, 1947. Presumably, he has talked with someone who attended that meeting, a hypothesis rendered more likely by several recent prominent defections from left-wing ranks. We do not believe, certainly—and we do not think Murray implies—that the new party is principally made up of Communists and fellow-travelers. The volume of support for Wallace and the most sober estimates of his prospective vote make any such assumption absurd. But whether the demand would have taken the form of a third party without deliberate action by the Communists is another question. Speaking at Madison Square Garden only a month before the alleged meeting, Wallace reaffirmed his intention to remain in the Democratic Party, to work for his purposes at the convention, and "to prevent the Democratic Party from committing suicide." Similarly, the *Daily Worker* at that time opposed a national third party on the ground that it would be a mistake to launch such a movement without the support of organized labor. The implications of Murray's remarks is that this objection was overcome at the

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October meeting. Left-wing labor leaders on that occasion presumably got their instructions to plump for the third party "for the purpose of causing confusion and dissension," the better to block the Marshall Plan. In any event, the break in the C. I. O. followed immediately; in November, the Progressive Citizens came out for Wallace; in December, Wallace made his decision to run.

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WITH PLEASURE AND RELIEF, WE RECORD the rescue of that maverick newspaper *PM* from an untimely death. *PM* may not print all the news, and, like the rest of us, its editors at times allow their prejudices to modify their vision; but their prejudices have never been commercial and they have printed news that more respectable—and more prosperous—newspapers preferred to think unfit to print. Under Marshall Field, *PM* has been both a gadfly and a counterweight, forcing other journals to report what they would rather ignore and providing a corrective for their conservative bias. With the purchase of controlling stock by Bartley Crum and Joseph Barnes, the paper is assured of remaining in liberal hands. Mr. Crum, a San Francisco lawyer who headed a group of Republicans for Roosevelt in 1944, is known to our readers both as a Nation Associate and as a champion of justice in Palestine. Mr. Barnes has made an enviable record as foreign editor of the New York *Herald Tribune*. The New York Newspaper Guild, which opposed sale of the paper to Clinton D. McKinnon, has welcomed the new management, recognizing its right to make personnel changes during a probationary period, provided they are not made in order to lower the wage scale. We share the Guild's confidence in the liberal character of the new owners and in their belief that they can "make *PM* a successful, dynamic newspaper." More power to them!

*

TIME WAS WHEN MAJOR-PARTY CANDIDATES concentrated on delegates and machines, leaving it to minority opponents to toy with committees of writers, artists, and movie stars. But groups of intellectuals-for-Roosevelt broke that pattern, and now the device shows up on the far right. The national Taft-for-President Committee, with surprisingly little fanfare, has just released the names of its supporters on the culture front, all of whom have signed a statement on behalf of his candidacy as a "conservative liberal." What strikes us most about this development is not the fact that the technique has been carried over to the right, but that so much of the original personnel has gone along with it. The writers-for-Taft group, far from being a collection of Clarence Buddington Kellands, numbers among its stars Colonel Robert S. Allan, John Chamberlain, John Dos Passos, Morrie Ryskind, George F. Schuyler, Benjamin Stolberg, Dorothy Thompson, and Freda Utley.

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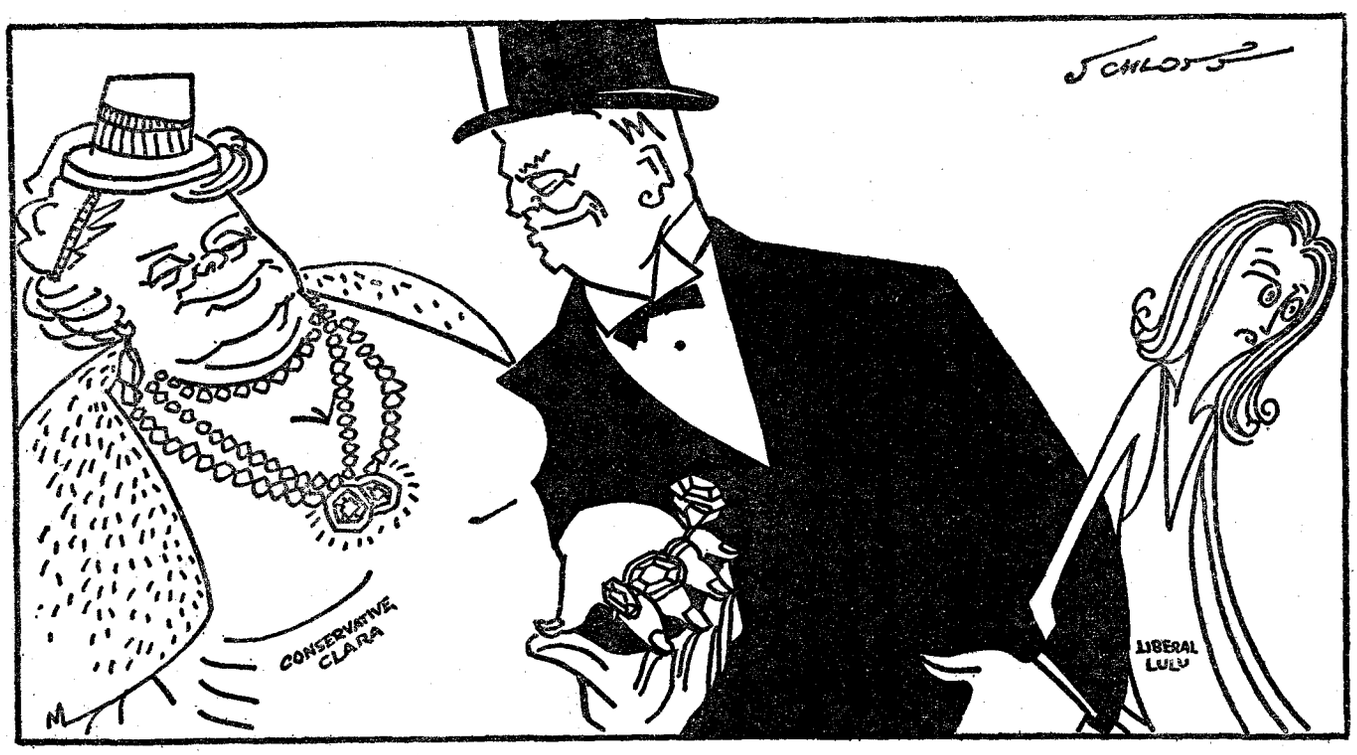
AMERICAN CONSUMERS MAY NOT HAVE TO choose between guns and butter after all. If the Rivers bill passes the Senate, as it has the House, they can choose between guns and margarine. By a vote of 260 to 106, the House moved to reveal the various imposts on oleo. The dairy-state Congressmen staged one of the bitterest fights in years to retain levies imposed half a century ago to protect one industry at the expense of another. The battle at times reached a level of burlesque that would have been entertaining if it were not in fact an exhibition of special-interest lobbying at its most shameless. The American baby was threatened with loss of milk, and eulogies were solemnly pronounced on "the old milk cow and what she means to America." Representative Katherine St. George of upstate New York pointed out that "cows are feminine . . . and they don't like competition." In desperation, the Dairy Congressmen tried to save the day by amendments to forbid the sale of colored margarine—actually it is naturally colored and now has to be bleached to escape the highest tax—or to regulate the shape of its packaging. All this to discourage consumers from buying a product as nutritious as butter at half the price. But the consumers won the day—not on their own power, unhappily, but because their cause happened also to be the cause of the soy-bean and cotton-seed growers. The New York housewife, for once, is in the same boat as the Mississippi farmer. The farm bloc, on the other hand, is sorely divided, and ominous threats are heard about lowering cotton tariffs in retaliation. In this sort of war, free trade is the ultimate consequence, and the consumer the ultimate beneficiary.

Will Prices Go Down?

BIG STEEL, followed by most of the smaller companies, has announced a reduction of prices and simultaneously refused to grant a wage advance, with the proclaimed purpose of fighting inflation. General Electric led this procession some weeks ago, but found no imitators, and retreated from an advanced position. The reduction made by United States Steel is said to contribute about $25,000,000 to the national pot; as much as $100,000,000 might come from the steel industry as a whole. This is a molecule in the total mass of the national income, but if the examples were followed widely and if what the economists call the "multiplier" were to take hold through successive reductions as money and goods pass from hand to hand, the consequences might be tangible.

The steel workers are bound by agreement not to strike, and the electrical workers are holding off to await developments. The automobile workers are not so bound; they, the railroad workers, and others meeting resistance to wage demands might start another wave of strikes like those in 1946; even the members of the steel unions might go out without the authorization of their chiefs. If great strikes occur, the movement will probably fail, either through their effect in curtailing production or through concessions to end the walkouts. It is certain that labor cannot be held in line long in unwilling cooperation unless the cost of living actually does go down.

The action of the big corporations cannot be under-



STASSEN: "DON'T LET ON, BUT SHE'S TOO THIN FOR ME!"

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stood without placing it against the background of what happened in 1947. During the first part of that year, prices showed signs of leveling off. The President, on the basis of studies by his Council of Economic Advisers, urged business not to make further increases and to reduce where possible, and said that wage boosts should not be granted except where they would not require raising prices. The Economic Report paid particular attention to the gains made by the bituminous miners, and pleaded with coal operators and steel employers not to increase prices as a result, at least until they had had a chance to see whether the higher labor charges could not be otherwise absorbed.

Coal and steel promptly jacked prices up, and by more than the amount necessary to cover their increased costs. This, combined with the short corn crop and the resulting higher prices of food, let inflation loose again. Belatedly, the big companies have now executed an about-face, but they have not yet retraced their steps far enough to get back where they were a year ago. Even this much is better than further upward spiraling, but it is to be regretted that they did not take their present course earlier, when it might have prevented the current inflation and when they could have obtained the cooperation of organized labor.

Meanwhile, the basic excess of demand over supply has become greater, and it will be harder than ever to check the upward spiral. Bank loans, in spite of a concerted move on the part of banks to limit them, have expanded. The government, which in 1947 contributed substantially to the restriction of demand by taking billions more from the public than it paid back, now has been compelled by Congress to reduce taxes and faces expanded military expenditure. It may even have a deficit at the end of the year. It would be a considerable feat even for a confirmed optimist to believe that there is much chance for voluntary action on the part of business to make headway against this tide.

The best that can be done is to hold the line while production increases, in the hope that when and if the present abnormal stimulants to purchasing power slacken off, the decline in the ability of the lower-income groups to buy will not have become so great as to produce a serious slump. The best time to prevent a depression is before it begins to happen, and the chief danger in the present situation is that consumers are being priced out of markets.

WHY did the big corporations suddenly change their policy? Was it because they saw falling prices in the offing, and believed that their volume of business would drop if they did not anticipate the trend? Possibly, but in the case of steel and others who may imitate it, there is a more likely explanation. When they raised their prices, they did expect a slump in the near future. They were not impressed by the argument that they could help to avoid it and ought to do so. They were not sure that others would do the same; the swings of the cycle seemed to them foreordained. Therefore they decided to sell all they could for high prices while the weather was fair, in order to provide ample reserves and surpluses against the storm. Now, however, they are reassured about the prospect because of the armament program and other related developments and are willing to adopt a more far-sighted policy by easing off the price pressure a little.

It is unfortunate that a program of this kind could not have been coordinated with a real anti-inflationary campaign, thorough and well planned. That would have required simultaneous action by government both in controls and in fiscal policy, together with prior consultation with labor and agriculture and appropriate action by both.

Partition Begins at Home

BY FREDA KIRCHWEY

IT IS too late to save Palestine from terrible and destructive war. Even without the documentation in the Nation Associates's memorandum, published with this issue, it has been no secret that Arab incursions and preparations for general invasion were being made with full knowledge of the mandatory power. But if British complicity was self-evident, that of the United States was almost as blatant and even more reprehensible. For Britain had made its opposition to partition clear from the beginning, while the United States had sponsored the partition resolution in the Assembly. The retreat executed by the State Department, sounded on December 5 by its embargo on arms shipments to Palestine, was an "all-clear" signal to British and Arabs. From then on, both knew that the United States would give only verbal backing to partition, and both went ahead, full steam, to create conditions designed to make partition impossible. Britain continued to arm the Arabs, and the Arabs initiated a reign of terror that increased as the weeks passed and it became evident America would continue to yield ground under threat of violence.

When the United States delegation produced its trusteeship scheme, one day after President Truman had assured Dr. Weizmann he still stood for partition, American prestige hit a new low and the British-Arab coalition knew they need not accept even trusteeship. They knew trusteeship could be blocked by the same tactics that had blocked partition. So the border violations became more flagrant and were duly recorded by British Intelligence, as our document reveals; but no effort was made to halt this invasion of Palestine by "volunteers" organized out

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of the regular armies of the Arab states, and no charges were preferred in the Security Council.

But if it is too late to stop a war initiated by the Arabs, abetted by the British, and connived at by the Americans, it is still possible to end it soon and on tolerable terms. One need not indulge hopeful fantasies to realize that a narrow avenue of honorable escape still remains open.

WHILE the delegates go through their futile motions in the Assembly—dutifully discussing trusteeship with delegates of Arab states whose governments, at the same moment, openly announce their plans for full-fledged aggression—the Jews of Palestine have effectively taken the first steps to make partition a living reality. Resisting with remarkable courage the war of nerves being waged against them in London and Washington, the Haganah has occupied the key points in almost the whole area awarded the Jewish state by the United Nations. That partition is a fact has been acknowledged by the head of the Palestine Commission's advance party; Dr. Pablo de Azcarate, on his return from Jerusalem last week, reported that partition was in effect and could not now be overthrown. The truce commission sent out by the Security Council has reported back that the Jewish Agency is taking over suspended governmental activities as the British withdraw and is functioning effectively in spite of constant warfare. Both testified that no central authority exists in Arab areas.

The same story has been told in greater detail by other observers. Jewish authorities have taken over most of the services; they collect taxes; they have even issued stamps for use within their boundaries, and have announced the restoration of foreign mail service. More impressive still, they have set up an agency to control the properties of Arabs who fled as the Jews took over: businesses are being managed where possible; vineyards and other farms are being tended and their produce used, but the assets conserved for the legal owners. This, I should say, is the final proof of an established, responsible administration.

At the same time, the Jews are fighting the Arab invaders and their local allies with courage and success. That they can hold out for a long time is certain. American army officers who have lately inspected the Jewish forces and training centers have reported a high morale and intelligent preparation. Already, Arab leaders are letting it be known that while they are committed to a holy war to blot out the Jewish State, they will go about it gradually, accomplishing their end, as Assam Pasha said the other day, "by attrition."

NOT the United Nations but the Jews themselves have implemented the United Nations plan. This is the single most important fact to hold in mind. It will do more than a hundred arguments in the Assembly to defeat British-Arab maneuvers and expose the trusteeship scheme as empty nonsense. The unreality of the American proposal has already become so painfully apparent that a new reversal of policy is being rumored in Washington and Lake Success.

It is no secret that the President is both worried and ashamed over the part he has played. Some modification of American policy is almost certain; otherwise General John H. Hilldring would never have been put in the place of Loy Henderson as chief adviser to the Secretary of State on Palestine affairs. Hilldring helped nurse partition through the Assembly last November. He thoroughly believes the plan is the best solution available. Above all, he has steadfastly opposed the oil diplomacy of the Henderson-Wadsworth clique. That Hilldring, in spite of ill-health and a firm resolve to refuse further State Department assignments, has come back to take charge of Palestine policy is a hopeful sequel to, and undoubtedly in part a consequence of, the Jewish successes in Palestine.

The resolution of November 29 still stands. It has not been superceded by any other proposal. President Truman has continued to indorse partition even in the face of the State Department's betrayal of it. These rather pathetic discrepancies provide a loophole through which a new policy may slip, if a new policy is in the making. One dare not hope for an unqualified reversal. But the government, without too great loss of face, can recognize several facts: that its trusteeship plan has not received enough support in the Assembly to warrant pressing it farther; that an Arab invasion of Palestine has taken place; that a Jewish state is in process of being set up and partition is being effected by a Jewish militia. On the basis of these facts, it could (1) withdraw the trusteeship proposal; (2) recommend that the Security Council immediately take up the threat to peace involved in the aggression of the Arab states and the failure of the British to maintain order; (3) recognize the Jewish state on May 15 when the British mandate ends; (4) propose a trusteeship for the Arab areas pending the creation of an Arab government; (5) propose a general embargo on shipments of arms to the states of the Arab League; (6) lift the American embargo on arms for Jewish Palestine; (7) make a loan to the Jewish state.

This is a minimal program which does little more than take account of the situation so dramatically revealed in our supplement and offer frightened officials a chance to repair the worst consequences of their now irretrievable mistakes. An adequate program obviously would require international action, not only to enable the Jews to maintain partition through their own efforts, but to marshall behind those efforts the full support of the United Nations. But this would require a degree of courage and vision we have learned not to expect. At this desperate hour, we should be grateful for less.

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POLITICS and PEOPLE

BY ROBERT BENDINER

WHATEVER success Harold Stassen has in Ohio—and his prospects as this is written are good enough to have thrown some of Senator Taft's backers into a quiet panic—it is clear that he has completed the first phase in his life's work of making Harold Stassen President. The apparatus which he and his lieutenants have been painstakingly building in every politically important state since 1944 has so well demonstrated its effectiveness that in spite of the diehards of the party he will go to Philadelphia with a first-rate claim on the nomination. In short, the band-wagon is ready and waiting. The next tasks are to induce the financial angels of the G. O. P. to provide the fuel and then to dissuade his enemies from pooling their resources to enter a bigger and better-oiled band-wagon in competition.

That Mr. Stassen has given these problems the same methodical calculation as marked his campaign of organization is becoming more and more evident. A poor boy to begin with, Stassen made no fortune either in the politics of Minnesota, which paid him $8,500 a year as governor, or in the United States navy. An apparently authoritative article in *Life* credits him with a current income of $42,000 a year, an amount that would hardly begin to take care of the elaborate machinery he has set up around the country. His headquarters in Minneapolis occupy an entire floor of the Pillsbury Building. Washington and New York have well-staffed branch offices, and outposts dot the rest of the country. Minneapolis alone has some 200 full-time workers, and although the overwhelming majority of them are devoted volunteers, the operations and equipment of that many people require appreciable financing. In addition, the candidate has traveled some 160,000 miles since he officially opened his campaign sixteen months ago, much of the way by private plane.

Stassen publicity has long made much of the Minnesotan's independence of "big money," emphasizing the thousands of small contributions that have unquestionably poured into his campaign treasury. But within the past week the inevitable appeal has gone out for larger donations—up to $1,000—and its signers are not in the small-fry class. They include two bank presidents and the heads of such corporations as General Mills, Minnesota Mining and Manufacturing, Minnesota Valley Canning Company, Minnesota and Ontario Paper Company, Josten Manufacturing Company, George A. Hormel and Company, and Pillsbury Mills.

Giving sharp point to this growing acceptance by business is the categorical prediction of *Business Week*. Scorning to hedge, this McGraw-Hill publication announces flatly: "Your Next President—Harold E. Stassen." Going farther, it anticipates a good part of the Stassen Cabinet. Vandenberg, of course, is to be Secretary of State. Representative Clifford Hope is to get the Agriculture portfolio "when Republican wheat replaces Democratic cotton." And California's Governor Warren will be Attorney General, a small price to pay for the convention votes of the California delegation. *Business Week* says nothing about the vice-presidency, but Stassen's nomination would call for an orthodox running mate. His leading rivals, who cordially detest him, are of course out of the question for this spot, but there is no reason to believe that it would be turned down by Joe Martin. In spite of his aberration in behalf of John L. Lewis, the Speaker would do much to help old-line Republicans swallow the upstart from Minnesota.

There are indications that unless Dewey and Taft soon see the light and resign themselves to a pooling of forces against Stassen, as Herbert Hoover has been begging them to do, the party bosses will leave them both in the lurch. The logical compromise for them to agree on, of course, would be Vandenberg. But the Michigan Senator is one of the few top-flight Republicans who are not eager for the job, and he might well make Stassen the heir to his potential strength at the convention. It is worth noting that he is the only candidate whom Stassen has been careful not to alienate. In Michigan alone the Stassen agents have refrained from pushing their hero, even in private, at the expense of the state's favorite son.

Take him all in all, Harold Stassen is a Galahad who pursues the Grail with the emotional abandon of a Russian chess wizard.

THE resignation of Gael Sullivan as executive director of the Democratic National Committee is a political act of major importance. As the active manager of the Truman campaign Mr. Sullivan would hardly withdraw at this stage of the race to "provide more security for [his] family" if his heart were in his work. That he has been cool to the President's candidacy has long been evident, and his off the-record remarks in favor of Justice Douglas at a meeting of newspaper editors only underscored that fact. Apart from his evalution of Mr. Truman, whom he is formally committed to support, Sullivan has long been irritated at the President's failure to consult the party committee on appointments or to take any of its advice on policy. The appointment of Charles Sawyer as Secretary of Commerce appears to have been the last straw. Sullivan, and Chairman McGrath as well, had urged him to name former Representative Mike Monroney, a faithful New Dealer, but the President sprang Sawyer on the committee without so much as an hour's notice. Going deeper, the resignation may also be read as an expression of Sullivan's conviction that if the nomination doesn't go to Truman it can only go to Eisenhower, the retiring director having even less enthusiasm for the General than he has for the President.

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The Nanking Assembly Farce

BY MAXWELL S. STEWART

THE National Assembly, China's first experiment in constitutional democracy, has just adjourned in Nanking. If democracy is defined as an orderly procedure for popular government, the Assembly was far from democratic. The people were not represented. Few participated in the elections, and in many places the returns were thrown out and political appointees substituted for elected delegates. The Assembly sessions were boisterous and disorderly; but always the firm hand of Chiang Kai-shek could be discerned pulling the strings.

Yet if democracy is regarded merely as an expression of popular unrest, Chiang must have found the Assembly sessions uncomfortably democratic in spirit. What was intended to be a cut-and-dried affair—which would get a President and Vice-President elected and then meekly end—proved an unexpected demonstration of the immense discontent in the country today. All the criticisms of the Nanking regime contained in the original report of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee—before its editing by Senator Vandenberg—were made far more effectively by Kuomintang members on the floor of the Assembly. The net result, it should be quickly added, appears to have been close to zero. Although Chiang gave way on a few minor points, he showed no intention of making any fundamental change in policy.

To American eyes the Assembly sessions were a hilarious farce. The fun started when 700 duly elected Kuomintang delegates were instructed to give up their seats to make room for hand-picked representatives from the Social Democratic and Young China parties. These parties had been promised a specified number of seats in return for joining the "coalition" government. Some of the ousted delegates objected violently. A group of thirty held a "rump Parliament" which angrily protested against their exclusion. Another group of sixty went on a hunger strike when they were locked in a hotel to prevent them from invading the Assembly. One "independent" appeared with a coffin to express his determination to fight to the death.

Inside the chamber the same boisterous informality prevailed. Cabinet members were forcibly prevented from addressing the Assembly. Pai Chung-hsi, the Defense Minister, was interrupted in the middle of his report by a northern delegate who wanted to know why the Nationalist armies were constantly being defeated. One delegate demanded that General Chen Cheng, commander-in-chief of the Nationalist forces in Manchuria, be executed for his military failures. The northern delegates as a whole were critical of the government's policy of centralizing defense and its refusal to put arms in the hands of the people. Chiang Kai-shek personally quieted a fist-swinging session of the constitutional subcommittee, remarking severely, "You are not qualified to represent the people." Yet Chiang also contributed to the farcical atmosphere by announcing at the beginning of the Assembly that he was "determined not to run for the presidency." Such retirements are an established part of Chiang's political tactics, but many American newspapers, unfamiliar with the deviousness of Oriental politics, gave the story page-one play. Much less space was devoted to the Assembly's subsequent action in amending the constitution to give Chiang virtual dictatorial powers so that his authority would be in no way impaired by the switch-over to "constitutional" government. Many observers are convinced that the Generalissimo's withdrawal from the presidential race was staged to achieve this end.

The climax of the farce was reached in the balloting for the vice-presidency. Since the vice-president has little power under the new constitution, his selection was not expected to cause any fireworks. Of the six candidates in the field, most observers believed Sun Fo, the son of the founder of the Chinese Republic, would win without great difficulty. Dr. Sun, vice-president under the pre-constitutional regime, had the backing not only of the Generalissimo but of the ultra-conservative C. C. clique, the Youth Corps, and the overseas Chinese. Then General Li Tsung-jen, a former liberal who is director of the Peiping military headquarters, upset all calculations by entering the race as an outspoken critic of Chiang's military policies. At first he was expected to get little more than a token protest vote, but the widespread dissatisfaction of provincial delegates with the National administration soon brought him a marked accession of support. The campaign suddenly assumed great bitterness. The personal habits and reputations of the leading candidates were assailed in leaflets scattered among the delegates. Angered by criticism of Sun Fo in a local newspaper, a mob composed largely of Assembly delegates sacked and partly destroyed the newspaper's printing establishment. As a final touch to the farce, the three remaining vice-presidential candidates withdrew after General Li had won a commanding lead in the first two ballots, but reentered the race when the Generalissimo agreed to permit the delegates a free hand in their choice of a vice-president. To the American public, at least, Li's election on the fourth ballot was an anti-climax.

Amusing though these events may be, the setback to Chiang, whom the Assembly had just elected unani-

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mously to the presidency, should not be regarded lightly. Face is so important in China that a man is rarely attacked directly. Even indirect opposition to a man of Chiang's standing is extremely rare. General Li would not have openly opposed the Generalissimo on so important a question as the vice-presidency unless he had been assured of powerful support. Oddly enough, this came from both extremes of the Kuomintang. As a former liberal leader of the Kwangsi clique Li had considerable aid from intellectuals and left-wing groups. The support which counted, however, came from powerful provincial war lords dissatisfied with Nanking's handling of the civil war. His backers included General Fu Tso-yi, who commands the one Kuomintang army which has made an effective showing against the Communists in the past year; Pai Chung-hsi, the Defense Minister; Yen Hsi-shan, the old Shansi warlord; and Wang Wao-yu, the Shantung military leader. A number of Manchurian delegates were also among his supporters. In the last analysis military power is about all that counts in present-day China, and the disaffection of a number of the country's outstanding military leaders suggests that Chiang's position may be far more shaky than the outside world realizes. But it is also interesting to note that General Li has in the past been closely associated with Generals Li Chi-sen, Tsai Ting-kai, and Feng Yu-hsiang, former left-wing Kuomintang stalwarts who are at present leading an opposition party with headquarters in Hongkong. These men, in turn, are collaborating closely with exiled members of the former Democratic League.

The existence of this powerful opposition gives political significance to Li's election. If Chiang were overthrown by a Kuomintang coup, the vice-president might be expected to take power. And there is little doubt that the Communists would be more likely to enter into peace negotiations with Li than with Chiang. Thus in the person of General Li we may have, for the first time in many years, a potential successor to Chiang Kai-shek.

GENERAL LI'S liberal background should not lead Americans to imagine that he would provide the moderate leadership which Secretary Marshall has declared to be essential in China. The clashes between students and the government at Peiping in mid-April suggest that Li is as dictatorial in his methods and as out of touch with popular sentiment as Chiang or any of the Kuomintang war lords. In China student demonstrations are recognized by all groups as an unfailing index of popular feeling. Protests and demonstrations have been frequent in the past year, particularly in Peiping. But no incident has aroused such deep resentment against the authorities as this latest case of police brutality.

Trouble started on March 29. The students of the various universities in the city had assembled at Peiping National University to commemorate the death of the Huang Hua Kong patriots. The meeting was orderly, but before it was over, the university was suddenly surrounded by several thousand police with armored cars. On the same day the Peiping garrison headquarters, which is under the command of Li Tsung-jen, proclaimed the dissolution of the North China Students' Federation. This led the students to declare a three-day protest strike, which began on April 3.

The military authorities countered by demanding, without explanation, that Peiping National University hand over twelve students; if it refused, they would be arrested without the university's consent. After prolonged negotiations the university officials appealed to the courts. But in the early hours of April 9 forty to fifty armed thugs invaded a student dormitory, looted it, seized eight students from their beds, beat them unmercifully, and then kidnaped them.

Responding to the news almost immediately, six thousand students, and also the presidents, deans, and many members of the faculties of the various schools, maintained a day-long vigil in front of Chiang Kai-shek's Peiping headquarters. Finally, at 11 p.m. the authorities admitted that they had the students and agreed to release them. The eight were removed to a hospital, several of them in a serious condition.

For a brief time it seemed as if the incident were closed. The students called off their strike and returned to their classes. But on April 11 an organized mob attacked the university. Unable to force the gates of the university proper, it broke windows and inflicted considerable property damage in the faculty compound. Nine students who happened to be on the streets were seized and beaten, one girl so seriously that she had to be taken to a hospital. Scores of police were present, but none tried to restrain the mob.

In the face of these repeated acts of unprovoked violence the faculties, students, and workers in all the Peiping universities decided upon a general protest strike. The faculty of Peiping National University made the following explanation for this unprecedented action:

> The conduct of education is our concern and our responsibility. We naturally have no desire to see students interrupt their work. But education can only be carried on in an atmosphere of quiet born of security. With both teachers and students deprived of protection, and school buildings and dormitories constantly liable to assault, we obviously do not have any security. . . . We have counseled our students to maintain order, and they have followed our counsel. Despite this, acts so brutal that they have resulted in bloodshed have recurred repeatedly as though motivated by a desire to keep the universities in a constant state of turmoil.

Under these circumstances it is scarcely surprising that the Kuomintang's prestige among educated Chinese and the population which looks to them for leadership

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has sunk close to the vanishing-point. Private letters from Peiping are unanimous in reporting that most informed persons expect the Communists to occupy the city during the present year. Although many of the wealthy have fled to the south, the majority are planning to remain on the theory that the Communists can be no worse than the present regime. The recent statements by Communist leaders calling upon their followers to be more moderate in their revolutionary zeal have been eagerly seized upon by ordinary citizens in the Kuomintang areas.

The lack of extensive news from the Chinese military fronts during the past six weeks should not be taken as an indication of an actual lull in operations. The military news printed in American papers originates, with minor exceptions, in Nanking. The Kuomintang has had no victories to report; hence no news. But during this period the Communists have made some of the most significant gains of the war. In Manchuria they have occupied the important cities of Kirin and Szepingkai. In Central China they captured, lost, then recaptured the great city of Loyang, one of China's ancient capitals. Less important strategically but a boost for their morale was their recapture of their former capital, Yenan, which the government occupied with much fanfare a year ago. The Communists are now said to be threatening the nearby city of Sian, and a Communist drive south of the Yangtze River is generally expected this summer.

It is too early to say what effect the passage of the American aid bill will have on the Chinese political and military situation. The developments described in this article suggest that the promise of American aid has not had the favorable psychological effect on which its advocates counted. It is possible that the material effect will be no greater. The marines captured by the Communists last Christmas say that much of the military equipment given to Chiang Kai-shek is now in Communist hands. The greater part of a recent shipment of surplus ammunition is reliably reported to have been bought by the Communists before it was unloaded at Shanghai.

The present turbulence is a clear sign that a profound political and social upheaval has begun. The basic forces at work are internal and not of foreign importation. Efforts on the part of groups in the United States, particularly in the Republican Party, to form an American policy toward China molded on European parallels is not only dangerous but on the current evidence almost certain to fail. The Chinese, as a sage has observed, are a peculiar people. They like to run their own affairs.

Tactics of a Scared Candidate

ROBERT G. SPIVACK

FEW men have ever worked harder to become President of the United States than Thomas E. Dewey. Backed by a corps of twenty-five highly paid and smooth-talking publicity agents, all of them on the New York State pay roll, he has alternately sought to picture himself as a liberal and as a conservative. He has ridden roughshod over the demands of New York's school teachers, built a handful of huts for the state's homeless ex-G. I.s, and granted enormous handouts to big corporations.

Yet his political career seems to be nearing its end, and like King Gama in "Princess Ida" he "can't think why." He has been to bat twice in the Presidential league (1940 and 1944), and twice he struck out. Now the final pitch is coming up, and a rookie named Harold Stassen is throwing some wicked curves.

The origins of Dewey's nervousness can be traced back to late 1947 and early 1948. His "non-political" Western tour last summer turned out to be something of a farce. Early this year came the Eisenhower boom, and Dewey hastily decided to throw his hat into the ring. Then came Eisenhower's withdrawal from the Republican race, and the joy that prevailed among Dewey's rivals only made more evident the continued anxiety in his own camp. For Dewey had other worries. As Henry Wallace's third party began to assume important proportions, panic again spread through the Dewey cohorts. Whatever else Wallace's candidacy may or may not have accomplished, it effectively cut the ground from under one of their principal arguments—namely, that the Governor was the only G. O. P. candidate who could carry the Empire State. With Wallace in the field it became clear that almost any Republican could win New York's forty-seven electoral votes.

The hardest blow was still to come. This was the series of Stassen victories in the primaries. And it was the more painful because Dewey and Stassen had already become bitter personal enemies as a result of Dewey's condescending attitude toward the Minnesotan.

For a brief period this year Dewey sought to put up a bold front. With the aid of his publicity corps he tried to create the impression that his elevation to the White House was inevitable. His technique is worth recounting. When visitors came to his hotel suite in New York or the executive mansion in Albany, Dewey would

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light a cigarette, sit back, appear to relax, and casually reminisce about his "memorable" nine-hour conversation with Winston Churchill, or his "delightful" chat with Premier de Gasperi, or the "insight into conditions" he got from the Austrian consul general. The idea he wished to convey was that these men and other foreign dignitaries already regarded him as the next President. Naturally, he implied, they were keeping him abreast of affairs so that when he took over he could quickly establish liaison with the heads of other powers.

It was over foreign affairs that the Stassen-Dewey feud really became bitter. After his meeting with Stalin, Stassen paid a courtesy call on Dewey as the titular head of the party. When reporters asked Dewey if Stassen had brought him new information from abroad, the Governor replied, in effect, "I'm always meeting diplomats and foreign ministers and heads of governments." Shortly afterward Stassen declared bluntly that under no circumstances would he take second place on a ticket headed by Dewey. That was in the days when he still toyed with the idea of being someone's running-mate.

AS THE Republican campaign approaches the rough-and-tumble stage a great many other factors are bothering the Deweyites. The worst, in many ways, is the Truman débâcle. Dewey needs Truman. When the public-opinion polls in January and February showed that the President still had substantial strength, the Dewey forces were pleased. A "tough guy" like the former gang-buster was "wanted," they argued. Then came the events which reduced Mr. Truman's popular standing to the point where even Taft could win—the reversal on Palestine, the worsening of United States-Soviet relations, the call for a draft, the Southern rebellion. This was something Dewey had not counted on, and he did not know how to cope with it. His inability to adjust his strategy to the decline of Truman became almost ludicrous during the New Hampshire primary contest. In an expensively produced four-page "newspaper" circulated by his supporters the lead story carried the headline: "Dewey Has Big Lead, Opinion Polls Show—He Is the Only Republican Who Can Win the Presidency."

In New York Dewey's popularity has taken a sharp drop from its 1946 peak. The chief reason is probably the reputation the cautious aspirant has earned for always wetting his finger to see which way the political winds are blowing. His reluctance to take a stand on most controversial issues has caused many to wonder whether a man who follows such an opportunist course is qualified to be President. As a result he has had a relatively bad press in New York City. His evasiveness has been frequently criticized by Arthur Krock in the *Times*, and when Stassen took Wisconsin and Nebraska, the *Herald Tribune's* pleasure was very evident. Bert Andrews of that paper in one news dispatch referred to the "two black eyes" Stassen had given Dewey.

Dewey's aides, particularly James C. Hagerty, his executive assistant, have sought to remove the stigma of fence-sitter from their candidate by asserting that he will take his stand on all the burning issues in his own way and at a time of his own choosing. Among the issues on which he has not yet seen fit to speak out are the Taft-Hartley law and the Taft-Ellender-Wagner housing bill. His position on Palestine is difficult to make out. Last Rosh Hashana, as he has recalled, he voiced approval of partition, and now he finds the Administration's abandonment of it "saddening." But he does not say what he would do.

THE recent session of the New York legislature contributed little to his standing with the people. The Governor determined in advance that it was to be short and do-nothing In one respect it probably did him a real injury. According to Charles Abrams, the housing expert, Dewey's failure to call for any state housing in 1948 "may have ended his chances of becoming President." "What prompted the usually shrewd Mr. Dewey to abandon housing this year," Mr. Abrams said in the New York *Post*, "was his feeling that he could pick up the support of the anti-housing forces while also wooing the vet and pro-housing groups on the basis of his past housing record. But that record will look sadly blighted in the light of 1948."

The legislative session also brought a clash with the highly respected Public Education Association and numerous teacher groups over the extent of state aid to education. It was a bitter fight, with the educators and parents seeking $103,000,000 in new state aid and Dewey stubbornly refusing to allow the new funds to go over $30,000,000. Here again he may have outsmarted himself, for while fighting aid to the public schools, he allowed industry credit rebates from the unemployment-insurance-fund reserve which are expected to amount to $165,000,000 during the coming year. The C. I. O. called this a "colossal grab" and pointed out its sharp contrast with the paltry Dewey allotments for jobless workers.

If Dewey ends his first five years in high office with few major achievements to his credit, his administration has been stained by no major scandals. Yet the primaries held so far have made it clear that no band-wagon psychology is working in his favor. He said that he was "much heartened" by the Nebraska results, but he is plainly an unhappy hopeful. Although he is not a popular figure, there is an element of tragedy in his collapse as a leading contender. He has a good mind and considerable administrative talent. But he has pursued such a cautious course and been so clearly motivated by ambition that he stands for nothing and has no real friends.

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Roman Catholic Censorship

BY PAUL BLANSHARD

II. The Church and the Movies

MOST Americans probably assume that the Legion of Decency, the Roman Catholic instrument for censoring films, is concerned primarily with what H. L. Mencken once called "translucent drawers." The legion's name implies that it is the guardian of purity and the logical heir to Anthony Comstock in the pursuit of the lewd, lascivious, and obscene. It pleases the Catholic hierarchy to have Americans take this view of the agency because if it were called the Catholic Political and Doctrinal Censorship it would immediately lose its usefulness to the church.

Nothing in the public pledge of the Legion of Decency, administered once a year to all Catholic congregations in the United States, indicates its underlying denominational and political objectives. The pledge says:

> In the name of the Father and the Son and the Holy Ghost. Amen.
>
> I condemn indecent and immoral motion pictures, and those which glorify crime or criminals.
>
> I promise to do all that I can to strengthen public opinion against the production of indecent and immoral films, and to unite with all those who protest against them.
>
> I acknowledge my obligation to form a right conscience about pictures that are dangerous to my moral life. As a member of the Legion of Decency, I pledge myself to remain away from them. I promise, further, to stay away altogether from places of amusement which show them as a matter of policy.

Actually the Legion of Decency, in its private censorship of nearly four hundred films a year, is far more concerned with Catholic dogma and Catholic social philosophy than with decency. It is well known that regular government and industry agencies censor too long kisses, recumbent petting, and suggestive figure displays. Many people believe that the industry is over-censored already by the government, the Johnston office, and a considerable amount of internal Catholic influence. The industry's Production Code was written by one of the most aggressive Jesuit pamphleteers in the country, Father Daniel Lord, and the Production Code Administrator, Joseph I. Breen, is a Catholic.

The first part of this article, the second in Mr. Blanshard's new series, discussed Catholic censorship of books and magazines. The third article, to appear next week, will take up up the church's attitude toward science and its use of superstition.

The Legion of Decency begins where the censors of the government and the industry leave off. It seeks to rate all films according to a kind of super-code which emphasizes distinctly Catholic taboos and to suppress all films which contain any material critical of the present or historical social policies of the Catholic church. It exerts pressure upon the industry in favor of films which treat the church in a flattering manner. Its value to the church in this respect is inestimable. "Going My Way," "Boys' Town," "Song of Bernadette," and "The Bells of St. Mary" were probably worth more to the hierarchy in creating good-will than all the propaganda produced by the church's official proselyting agencies in a decade.

The legion's denominational bias is quite transparent and has been since the organization was founded in 1934. Last August it raised such a clamor against the British film "Black Narcissus" as an "affront to religion and religious life" that the producer was forced to withdraw the picture and make substantial changes to avoid a permanent "condemned" rating. "Black Narcissus" was a fair and realistic film about frustrated Anglican nuns, but the Roman Catholic church could not allow convent life to be exposed even indirectly to frank criticism. The legion did not dare to boycott completely such a charming family picture as "Life with Father," but it refused to give the film top rating as "unobjectionable for general patronage" because "it presents certain concepts on the sacrament of baptism which are contrary to Catholic teaching and practice." The harmless and delightful "The Bishop's Wife" was likewise rated not suitable for the whole family because one of its characters, according to the film critic of *America,* was "a dictatorial widow who tells him [the bishop], among other things, that it was she who had him made bishop." Part of the duty of the legion, it appears, is to protect Catholic youth from the suggestion that bishoprics can be brought in *any* church. Occasionally the legion breaks out in a condemnation which is purely theological, as in its objection to "Repeat Performance": "This film presents as a theory the inevitability of destiny despite the free-will of man."

Of the seventy films rated "objectionable in part" by the legion last year, only 40 per cent were called suggestive; the objections to the rest were largely denominational—that is to say, the objections would not necessarily be accepted by good Protestants and Jews. About one-third of the "objectionable in part" films were given this low rating because of "light treatment of marriage and divorce." In Catholic parlance this does not mean what it means to non-Catholics. If a script

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writer assumes that divorce may be an unfortunate but practical way to terminate an unhappy marriage, that assumption is considered "light treatment."

In fact, the most common indictment of films marked "objectionable in part" by the legion in its last published review of judgments was the phrase "Reflects the acceptability of divorce." Some of the films so branded undoubtedly treated family life in a frivolous and irresponsible manner, but many others were in accord with the highest non-Catholic moral ideals. "Gentlemen's Agreement" was given a Grade III "objectionable in part" rating because the heroine, played by Dorothy Maguire, had once been divorced, and it was improper to imagine that a divorced person could ever be happily remarried. "Miracle on 34th St.," was similarly rated for the same reason. Darryl Zanuck had refused to make the divorced lady of the story into a war widow to suit the Legion of Decency. William H. Mooring, the Catholic convert who writes the syndicated motion-picture reviews for the Catholic diocesan press of the United States, summed up in the Brooklyn *Tablet* of January 31 his reasons for failing to give "Miracle on 34th St." his blessing:

> Unfortunately, the people who adhere rigidly to Legion of Decency ratings and firmly refuse to patronize pictures that are classified as "objectionable in part" had to forgo the pleasure of seeing it. "Miracle on 34th St." introduced the subject of divorce.
>
> The reference was entirely gratuitous. The leading feminine character, nicely played by Maureen O'Hara, was a divorcee. She had a little daughter who proved a pivotal character, but the little girl could just as easily have been a niece, or a young sister, or a child adopted by an unmarried professional woman. Spinsters have been known to make admirable foster mothers, and there's no law against it.

THE same type of demand for the doctoring of the facts of ordinary human relationship was made in the case of "Black Narcissus," not because of indecency but because of possible anti-Catholic or anti-clerical inferences. In Italy the Pope intervened against the picture. When the producer, J. Arthur Rank, sent the film to Ireland for the approval of Irish censors, they expressed willingness to approve it if one change could be made, the addition of a sentence in the foreword making it clear that the Anglican nuns were not Roman Catholic.

But this was not enough for the Legion of Decency of the United States. When it reached this country, extensive changes were demanded on the ground that an inferential criticism of non-Catholic nuns was an attack on the Catholic church as "the custodian of the Christian religion." Dreams of a red dress and a love affair after the end of one year's service in the convent had to be severely pruned: it must not be implied that nuns have any sexual regrets. The final version sent out to American theaters was mutilated; the flashbacks into the previous lives of the nuns as ordinary young females were cut out; and even the scene in which a nun takes off her costume and reveals a street dress underneath was eliminated as improper.

It is not surprising that a figure in the film industry said recently: "We are selling a phony morality in the movies. This is not the way life is. In spite of the excesses before the Breen office and the Legion of Decency came into existence, it was still possible to make an honest picture of life."

The obligation to make "an honest picture of life" does not disturb the conscience of the Legion of Decency when Catholic denominational values are at stake. It consistently fights any reference in the film to any person or fact in history which would reflect upon the church's character. Last year it attempted to force Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer to alter Dumas's "The Three Musketeers," and according to latest reports it partially succeeded. Thomas Brady, writing in the New York *Times* of December 7, said that the Legion of Decency's Hollywood representative, Father John J. Devlin, suggested the complete elimination of Cardinal Richelieu because Dumas's characterization of the cardinal as a worldly and unscrupulous man was offensive to the church. Father Devlin was not satisfied to take the clerical garb off the cardinal and omit all religious functions. Latest reports indicate that Cardinal Richelieu will be transformed into "Duke Richelieu" to satisfy the legion's objection!

The distortion of famous literary works has become such a commonplace in Hollywood that it excites little attention. Brady's article in the *Times* described other changes forced in this picture and in other works of art. "Constance, the married mistress of D'Artagnan in the novel," it said, "will be unmarried on the screen, her unsympathetic husband becoming her cruel father." Milady de Winter may be eliminated altogether because of the "doubly adulterous connection." A new Columbia film on Lucrezia Borgia may be compelled to suppress the fact that she was the illegitimate daughter of Pope Alexander VI. And Geiger, the producer of the Berthold Brecht–Charles Laughton version of the play "Galileo," is doctoring it so that the film "will present Galileo's opposition as general scholastic authoritarianism rather than specific religious inquisition."

In the legion itself there is no "general scholastic authoritarianism." The decrees and methods of operation of the film censorship are all directed from Rome. The Legion of Decency is an organic part of the Catholic church, completely dominated by the clergy and administered since 1936 by the archdiocese of New York. The public pledge was ordered by Pope Pius XI in his encyclical "On Motion Pictures." Probably 7,000,000 to

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9,000,000 persons have taken the oath, and all Catholic organizations are directed to enforce the boycott wherever possible. Boycotts are frequently spearheaded by the Catholic War Veterans, whose members make excellent marchers and aggressive pickets.

Local bishops are empowered by the Pope specifically to go beyond the censorship of the Legion of Decency and "censor films which are admitted to the general list," but usually local priests and bishops abide by the list printed each week in all diocesan newspapers throughout the country and posted at the doors of churches. The actual first-judgment reviewing of films is done in New York by a revolving committee of alumnae of Catholic women's colleges; difficult cases are referred to a committee of priests. The literature of the legion has never made public the special qualifications of the censors for their work.

WHAT effect does the Catholic censorship have upon the success or failure of American motion pictures? Probably only the few films which are given the lowest (wholly objectionable) rating are injured commercially; there were three such American films last year—"The Outlaw," "Forever Amber," and "Black Narcissus." Pictures rated partially objectionable seem little affected. In fact, these pictures have increased from 10 per cent of the total output to 16 per cent since the legion began operations in 1936. Apparently Catholic movie fans do not boycott a film unless they are told that it is wholly objectionable, and even then the lure of a banned film offsets at least part of the loss. There is no evidence that Catholic boycotts would have much effect if theater owners stood their ground.

One Hollywood producer, Howard Hughes, has recently defied the Legion of Decency without, apparently, suffering the financial loss which was predicted. His picture, "The Outlaw," originally condemned both by the legion and the Breen office, was dropped by Twentieth Century–Fox, but Hughes refused to alter it. Catholic leaders predicted its complete failure, but Hughes offered it to capacity audiences on the coast for months.

"Forever Amber," slightly doctored after legion protests, played five weeks to packed houses in Catholic Boston after it had been bitterly denounced by the hierarchy. The slight changes, of course, made a difference. A spoken prologue was added which explained that here was a bad woman who was punished for her sins. A line was added to the speech of the victor in a duel: "In heaven's name, Amber, haven't we done enough? First, a nameless child, and now a dead man. May God have mercy on our souls!"

When a picture is officially boycotted by the hierarchy, and when the Catholic Action groups begin their public demonstrations, most theater owners run for cover. It is easy for the hierarchy to give the impression of a great mass movement because the press accords generous space to priestly denunciations, and a few ardent Catholic demonstrators are always available for a "religious crusade." The church often pursues such a crusade with great aggressiveness. "I shall direct all Catholics to boycott for one year," wrote Cardinal Dougherty to two theater owners in Philadelphia last March who ventured to show "The Outlaw" and "Forever Amber"; and the Cardinal added that if the owners did not submit within forty-eight hours, the boycott would be extended to all productions at both theaters for the entire year. The Duluth diocesan office of the Legion of Decency declared one theater "out of bounds" for six months for the same reason.

The legion's boycott prevented the public from seeing not only the unexpurgated version of "Black Narcissus" but a sober educational film on venereal disease which had been sponsored originally by the United States Public Health Service. At present this film cannot be exhibited outside the army. When the outstanding film "Juarez" was made, Catholic pressure caused distortion of the historical material so that Juarez's opposition to the Mexican church was not mentioned, although his battle against the priests and their superstitions was one of the major struggles of his career. "Blockade," the famous Spanish war picture, cautiously omitted any identification of Loyalists, but even then it was bitterly assailed because it did not compliment the church and the Spanish fascist forces. Incidentally, the church's concern for preserving Franco's reputation on the screen has been rewarded. The Spanish government's censorship regulations, announced last October, give the Roman Catholic church final veto power over all films.

Side by side with the Legion of Decency in censorship activities is a small organization, the Catholic Theater Movement, which has been functioning for many years in New York without gaining national notice. Dominated entirely by priests, it attempts to tell the faithful what they should not see in the theater if they wish to preserve

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their faith and morals. Its lists of approved and disapproved plays are published in appropriate Catholic weekly newspapers. For many months in 1947 the only play in New York which the Catholic Theater Movement approved without qualification was the performance now known as "Icetime of 1948." It rated "Harvey" objectionable in part, even when Frank Fay was in the lead, because the drama's six-foot rabbit seemed by implication a little too flip for a Catholic angel.

WHEN Catholic censorship of literature and motion pictures is considered in the larger perspective of American life, there seems little to recommend it. No one questions the *right* of the hierarchy to influence its people in matters of art and literature, and Catholic censorship has undoubtedly eliminated some unwelcome vulgarity from the lower reaches of pornographic commerce. But the censorship operations of the hierarchy have gone far beyond religion and decency. They have extended into the world of politics, medicine, and historical research, and have impaired the integrity of the media of information which serve non-Catholics as well as Catholics. Most serious of all, the hierarchy has stifled judgment among its own people by refusing them permission to read both sides of important controversies on matters of social policy. Such repression is directly contrary to a fundamental thesis of our democracy—that a good citizen is a man who has learned to think for himself. Because most Catholics in this country are good citizens and good Americans it seems inevitable that sooner or later they will recognize the censorship system of their priesthood for what it is, a survival of medieval coercion which has no rightful place in the American environment.

Bonneville: The First Ten Years

BY RICHARD L. NEUBERGER

Portland, Oregon, April 23

FROM its headwaters in the Canadian Rockies to the foaming bar where it joins the sea, the Columbia River hums an anthem of power. It might have been designed by the Almighty to create kilowatts. Its 1,200-mile length is a continuous downhill slant. For most of the distance the river is locked in granite gorges. It pours more water into the Pacific than all other Western rivers combined. Indeed, the basin of this one mighty stream contains 42 per cent of the hydroelectric potential of the whole United States.

For a generation Americans dreamed of building a dam that would enable them to tap the Columbia's resources. In 1933, under the leadership of President Roosevelt, not one dam but two were begun—Bonneville and Grand Coulee. For the past decade the output of the plants at these points, constituting the greatest waterpower system in the world, has been marketed by the Bonneville Power Administration, an agency of the Department of the Interior.

Profound changes have been brought about in the economic life of the Northwest. Formerly a kind of colonial empire supplying only raw materials, this region now for the first time processes much of its natural wealth. In 1940 not an ounce of aluminum was manufactured west of the Mississippi. Today almost half the national output is cooked in pot-lines along the Columbia's timbered banks. Chemical plants, aircraft factories, metal mills, and shipyards have been added to the economy of frontier states which not long ago subsisted almost entirely on logging and agriculture. These new industries, made possible by Columbia River power, support a phenomenal population gain. Washington's population has increased 29 per cent, Oregon's 40 per cent.

Although the Bonneville Power Administration sells electricity at the cheapest wholesale rates in the world, it has already collected approximately $115,000,000. Nearly $25,000,000 of this represents surplus—over and above charges for operation, maintenance, and depreciation. The complete system is to cost $397,055,000—this includes the cost of irrigating 1,200,000 acres at Grand Coulee, now arid land but capable of growing peaches, nuts, alfalfa, and wheat.

Financially the Bonneville Power Administration is an assured success. Auditors applying the most rigid business standards pronounce it a solvent and profitable enterprise—to the great surprise of the private utilities. When the B. P. A. was getting under way, a writer sympathetic to the utilities, Ernest R. Abrams, in a book entitled "Power in Transition," predicted that Bonneville and Grand Coulee were destined to be white elephants, embarrassing to President Roosevelt and his political allies. He foresaw the generation of far more electricity "than the Northwest can absorb for generations," and declared that "despite the low rates it is

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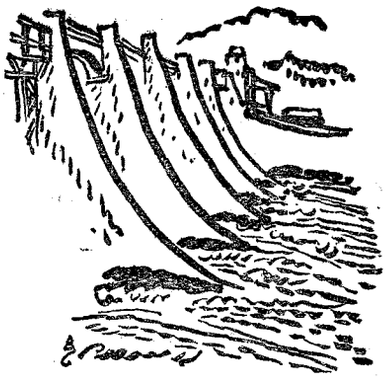
difficult to see how Bonneville power can find an unsupplied market."

Less than ten years later the utility executives of the Northwest, who had so heartily concurred in Mr. Abrams's gloomy prophecies of unsold kilowatts, met at Tacoma and resolved: "A shortage of electric power cannot be prevented. It already has begun. . . . Failure to provide additional federal generating capacity will retard the development of the Northwest. The urgency of the need demands that available money and effort be concentrated on bringing into production, at the earliest possible moment, those federal generating projects which are most susceptible of prompt completion." These were the men who on the day Mr. Roosevelt stood at Bonneville and cried, "More power to you!" released a report asserting that steam power was less expensive than hydroelectric and asking why more dams were being built.

Nearly 60 per cent of all Bonneville and Coulee power is sold directly to industrial plants, most of which produce aluminum and other light metals; 29 per cent of the juice is transmitted to private power companies and distributed by them to the public; 12 per cent is sold to municipalities, public-utility districts, and other cooperatively owned agencies. Practically all the public organizations are in the state of Washington. Oregon, with Republicans filling every state and local office, has scarcely any public-power systems.

THE legislative creators of the Bonneville Power Administration were Homer Bone, New Deal Democratic Senator from Washington, and Charles L. McNary, the homespun Oregon Republican who was Senate minority leader during most of President Roosevelt's tenure. "I've got to give Charlie Mac his dam," said F. D. R. as the authorization for the first diamond-drilling at Bonneville was signed at the White House. But Roosevelt and McNary are dead, and Bone sits judicially aloof on the Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals. Bonneville has fared badly at the hands of the tight-fisted Eightieth Congress.

Though the gross investment of $360,000,000 in the Columbia River development system has been reduced to $260,300,000 by power revenues, the B. P. A. was slashed more sharply than any other federal agency by the Taber committee. Personnel has been reduced from 2,177 to 1,470. Not even routine line repairs can be carried on. Because of Congressional "economy" the largest electrical system in the West has less skilled maintenance than the smallest private power company. Conditions have been made worse by the insistence on "veterans' preference." Electrical workers with ten years' experience at B. P. A. have been displaced by comparatively unskilled World War II soldiers. "I'm as strong for our ex-G. I.'s as the next fellow," said one wrathful Bonneville official, "but I often wonder why our brave politicians don't demand that private industry also give first place to war veterans, regardless of ability." Curiously enough, Congress seems oblivious to the fact that the Hanford plutonium piles, final stage in the atomic-energy process, are dependent on Bonneville's 230,000-volt backbone transmission line.



One of the deplorable results of the financial beating the Bonneville administration has taken from Congress is the Wallace sentiment developing among some of the Bonneville officials. Although Dr. Raver himself remains loyal to Truman, not one important Bonneville executive attended a recent Democratic Party fund-raising dinner in Portland at which National Chairman McGrath was the speaker. Some of this indifference may stem from the poor record of Oregon Democrats on public power. Senator McGrath, however, has pledged the Democrats to continuance of the Columbia River program begun by Roosevelt, while the third party seems quite unaware of the power issue.

In spite of all the obstacles—in spite of the fact that it cannot draw on its own revenues—Bonneville's achievements are impressive. In Washington public agencies distribute 1,128,000,000 kilowatt-hours of electricity annually, and some of these agencies charge the lowest retail rates for power in the country. Bonneville and Grand Coulee dams together generate 47.8 per cent of the energy used in the four states of Oregon, Washington, Idaho, and Montana. Factories dependent on Columbia River power are now the chief source of employment in counties that have recklessly cleared away all their fir and pine.

Recognizing the principle of abundance for the first time in the sale of electricity, B. P. A. charges $17.50 at wholesale for a kilowatt *year*. The purchaser buys one kilowatt for 365 days. He pays $17.50 regardless of how continuously he uses the kilowatt; it is available to him every minute of the year. This system of selling energy was the invention of the late J. D. Ross, Bonneville's first administrator. "And why not that way?" Ross used to ask. "After all, the water pours through the dam 365 days a year."

Ross was succeeded in 1939 by Dr. Paul J. Raver, a Northwestern University professor. Raver is not an especially adroit politician, but he has impressed even Bonneville's arch enemies with his practical knowlelge of a complex industry. Like Ross he has directed B. P. A. with the highest fidelity and competence—and for a fraction of the salary paid a president of one of the

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private-utility companies that buy Bonneville current.

Yet in one vital respect B. P. A. has failed. It has not brought about full development of the Columbia River. The failure is attributable to no lack of zeal or shortcoming in personnel but rather to a hodgepodge governmental setup which conceals responsibility so completely that a Canadian mountie could not find it. Bonneville Power Administration sells all the energy produced at Bonneville and Grand Coulee. Bonneville Dam, however, is operated by the United States Army Engineers, and Grand Coulee Dam by the Bureau of Reclamation. Both dams critically affect the Columbia River's valuable runs of Chinook salmon, but this is the problem of the Fish and Wildlife Service. The result is a welter of jealousies, confusion, and bickering. Communication among three government departments was required recently to float free an oil barge impaled on rocks near Celilo Falls.

Badly as the Northwest, with its vast new population, needs more power, rivalry over who shall do the job is delaying necessary action. In the last session of Congress the Army Engineers and the Bureau of Reclamation could not decide which should undertake Foster Creek Dam below Grand Coulee. In consequence Foster Creek has not been begun. On the Snake River, the main tributary of the Columbia, a natural power site awaits the dam-builder in Hell's Canyon, the deepest chasm on the continent. This structure would be second only to the mighty Grand Coulee in amount of energy produced. Were it ready today, the Northwest could transmit kilowatts southward to relieve California's grim power shortage. Some engineers believe the surplus juice of Hell's Canyon would pump water from the Columbia River to the California valleys now turning a dead and ugly brown. But jurisdictional disputes are not confined to labor unions. The Army Engineers insist a Hell's Canyon dam would be basically to further navigation into the Inland Empire. The Bureau of Reclamation believes Hell's Canyon must irrigate the arid plateaus of southern Idaho. So the dam is not authorized.

THE state granges of Oregon and Washington have finally decided that a Columbia Valley Authority, modeled after the famous TVA, is the only way to bring about full use of the resources of the West's greatest river. On the Tennessee the government has constructed twenty-two dams. They control and utilize the stream from its headwaters to its union with the Ohio. The two federal dams on the Columbia are only a fragment of the ten-dam program which would tap the resources of the river all the way up to the British Columbia border.

Last month Morton Tompkins, master of the Oregon Grange, addressed the Methodist Federation for Social Action in Portland. "In a region blessed with the greatest hydroelectric potential in the nation," said the farm leader, "we actually are faced with a serious power shortage. In brief, along the Columbia there is no unified plan or program such as TVA has brought into existence on the Tennessee. There is not even the 'shotgun wedding' of the Bureau of Reclamation and Army Engineers which the threat of MVA effected in the Missouri Valley. There is no logical division of work on the Columbia, no over-all agency even to get existing government bureaus to work together. There is anarchy instead of authority, competition instead of cooperation." As if to emphasize these words, the Fish and Wildlife Service and the Army Engineers engaged in a heated debate the next day over whether or not Bonneville Dam was diminishing the quantity of aquatic life in the river.

Once the Northwest might have had a regional authority. Senator Bone of Washington introduced a CVA bill in 1938. George Norris was ready to start one of his heroic fights in its behalf. But Secretary of the Interior Ickes hurried out to Tacoma, Bone's home town, and made a vitriolic speech ridiculing the bill. He said the three-man board of CVA would become a "debating society." As a result the public-power movement was split and the great chance was lost. Considering the present political temper of the country, it is not likely to come again for many years.

So although a start has been made on the Columbia River, much more must be done. Floods on the Willamette, the Kootenai, and other upland tributaries still inundate farms and wash topsoil to the sea. Navigation improvements on the Columbia are still so slight that deep-draft vessels rarely venture to Bonneville, the last point of tidewater. Perhaps most serious of all, the Northwest is unable to send water and power to California. Representative Richard J. Welch of San Francisco believes that his state can be succored only by diversion of the Columbia's deep reaches. But this would require a stupendous amount of power for pumping, power which will not be available for five or six years, when McNary Dam is completed.

And McNary Dam will not be finished even then unless Congress continues the necessary appropriations. Unlike the TVA, the Bonneville Power Administration cannot use its own revenues. Although it has paid $115,000,000 into the federal treasury, it must go hat in hand to Congress to obtain operating expenses. This most profitable of all federal enterprises in the West fares less generously in the Appropriations Committee than agencies which have no income whatever.

Most of the officials of B. P. A., proud as they are of the record their organization has made in its first ten years, nevertheless are convinced that the best interests of their region and the nation will be served if the initials B. P. H. are ultimately changed to C. V. A.

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Del Vayo—A King for Spain?

Spanish Frontier, April 30

IT IS generally thought that right after the Italian elections a change will come in Spain. The era of the status quo, so the rumor goes, is approaching its end. I have just made a trip to the Spanish border to find out what there is in this talk. Clearly something is brewing; less clear is the extent to which Franco is involved in it. The object of the new maneuver—in which American diplomacy is far more active than British—is to prepare the way for the restoration of the monarchy. The first step would be to replace Franco by a rightist government, thus removing the last obstacle to Spain's inclusion in E. R. P. and at the same time erecting a barrier against the return of the republic.

The plan is not very original. Two years ago it was already being considered in the British Foreign Office. But British diplomacy and its intelligence service, which have been dreaming of the restoration since the day the republic was proclaimed in 1931, have no illusions about monarchist strength. As for the spirit of the royalists, London knows that in nine years of Franco rule not a single member of the group has been executed, and their street demonstrations have rarely drawn more than a couple of hundred spectators. American diplomacy does not deal in romantic illusions either, but it is younger, less informed about Spanish affairs, and more enterprising and aggressive.

The offensive in behalf of Don Juan opened with the recent visit to Madrid of Myron Taylor, President Truman's special envoy. The success of his mission depended largely on whether the Vatican was ready to reverse its position vis-à-vis Franco. It is curious to see a democracy working so hard to restore kings to the vacant thrones of Europe, still more sad to see this Protestant democratic country seeking diplomatic support from the Catholic church.

When I was in Rome last January I reported that a change in the attitude of the Holy See toward Spain was imminent. It was even said that in order to swing the pro-Franco Spanish hierarchy to the new line, the Pope was planning to send astute Monsignor Montini to Madrid as nuncio. The appointment did not materialize, but apparently the Spanish hierarchy was duly instructed, for Cardinal Segura, a long-time partisan of Don Juan, has had a pastoral letter ready for more than a month presenting the case for the restoration. However, it was decided to postpone any public expression of this change until after the Italian elections.

The operation envisages, for the moment, a simple change of façade: a mixed government of generals and civilians would take office and invite Don Juan to return to Madrid. As a concession to the Falange, the King would not be put on the throne immediately but rather appointed honorary chairman of Franco's Council of the Regency. Then the government would order the holding of "free elections." It is understood, of course, that whatever Don Juan's immediate or ultimate role, Franco, as Generalissimo of the Spanish army, would continue as the real power.

Under this plan the dissident Socialists headed by Indalecio Prieto are expected to provide the "democratic" note by accepting portfolios in the provisional government or at least pledging their support. Naturally they would insist, for the record, on the complete elimination of Franco, but they would not make it a *sine qua non*. Since his total victory at the party's Toulouse congress, Señor Prieto can do pretty much as he pleases. There the delegates voted full powers to a committee made up of Trifón Gómez, Jimenez, Asúa y Pérez, and Prieto but completely dominated by Prieto. The congress decided further that "no member shall participate in any association or grouping to which Communists are admitted, or join any government in which Communists hold office." This should not, however, be construed as a defeat for Señor Llopis, whose Cabinet included Communists, for the Prime Minister never once opened his mouth at the congress; indeed, he submitted humbly to the Prieto *Diktat* and even agreed to remain as general secretary of the party.

People who have been crossing the border in recent weeks tell me that Franco is undecided whether to accept Mr. Taylor's proposition or to tell him and Cardinal Segura to mind their own affairs. At the bottom of the Caudillo's hesitations are Spain's financial difficulties. Despite a promising harvest, the shortage of foreign currency has forced the government to buy dollars in the black market of Tangier at nearly three times the official rate. The delegation that went to the United States to sound out New York bankers on private credits has come home empty-handed, although efforts of this sort are continuing without any let-up. Nor can Franco obtain credits in Switzerland or Holland; he already owes the former country 10,000,000 Swiss francs. Franco has been kept going temporarily by a loan of £5,000,000 from Juan March, one of the richest men in Europe, known to his countrymen as "the last pirate of the Mediterranean."

On the other hand, Franco is the prisoner of his own gang. When, for instance, Ex-Minister Cárceller, who was so warmly received in America last year, can clean up 70,000,000 pesetas in a single banking operation, it is no easy matter to force the Franco crowd either to relinquish the money-making machinery of state or to risk the vengeance of the fleeced when Franco goes.

The latest reports indicate that Mr. Taylor's proposal is meeting increased resistance. The entire American-Vatican action in support of Don Juan was predicated on Franco's acquiescence. So also was Prieto's plan, for he realizes the inability of the monarchists to impose a change without the consent of the dictator. Two of Franco's personal decisions within the last forty-eight hours—the refusal of a Spanish passport to the Catholic leader, Gil Robles, to enable him to attend the Hague conference on European reorganization, and the arrest of General Kindelan, the most prominent monarchist in the army—reveal him in a negative mood. In that case the pro-monarchist maneuvers of Taylor and Prieto are bound to end in failure as similar actions have in the past.

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BOOKS and the ARTS

Russia: Knowledge and Guesses

RUSSIA IN FLUX. By Sir John Maynard. Edited and Abridged by S. Haden Guest. The Macmillan Company. $6.50.

RUSSIA AND THE RUSSIANS. By Edward Crankshaw. The Viking Press. $3.

SINCE the Kremlin has chosen to close down a thick curtain between us and perhaps the most fascinating people in the world, knowledge of Russia, in its present aspect, is impossible. Sir John Maynard began his studies in the far greater scope of the days of czardom, and had not only a wide and comprehensive knowledge of the people of Russia as far as Tashkent but also the broadest and most sympathetic understanding of all the great issues involved in Russia's past, present, and future. Mr. Crankshaw, on the contrary, was inevitably limited to guessing, but within that limitation he has done better than most recent writers on the subject.

As soon as Sir John Maynard's two studies, originally entitled "Russia in Flux" and "The Russian Peasant and Other Studies," appeared in England, I read them very slowly and carefully twice, and was directly convinced that his was the most important contribution to the subject so far. At that time the colossal work of Sidney and Beatrice Webb on the Communist experiment was taken as almost definitive; yet here was a writer, practically unknown, though he was over seventy, who outranged them at every point both in knowledge and understanding—and, interestingly enough, a writer whose point of view was not at all dissimilar to theirs: Maynard too was a member of the Fabian Society. The Webbs had done wonderful work in England, but that gave them no title to authority on Russia. They had never learned Russian or lived under Russian conditions in Russia and, so far as I know, had never visited the country till they were both over eighty. Their work, though of immense scope and labor, was essentially, in a glorified way, the work of tourists, limited to what the Russian authorities put in their hands.

Maynard's achievement, on the other hand, vastly exceeded any claim he ever made for it. I had to learn Maynard backward. I knew him quite well. Editing his article on The Collectivization of Agriculture for the *Slavonic Review,* I was bound to see that it was the best we had had so far, but it was only much later that I learned that he had been a long while in Russia before I ever was there myself, as early as 1894-96; he had learned Russian thoroughly (he had twelve languages in all); he had an intimate knowledge and grasp of all the main Russian sources of social history. Through his years of distinguished service in India, he must have been supplied with full materials—and his extraordinary comprehension enabled him to understand these materials, and to make a summary better than that of any Russian I ever knew of. His work on collectivization came late in his career; his two books marked its completion. I brought my own copies of his books to America in 1942, and they were hailed at once by all the scholars I knew as the greatest work in the field so far. But only now are they available in an American edition.

The present volume contains both books under the single title "Russia in Flux," Maynard's own title for the first book. His title for the second, "The Russian Peasant and Other Studies," always seemed to me quite inadequate to its contents, which are the best summary in English of the whole Soviet period, and go to the roots of every important aspect of it. The original "Russia in Flux," a chart of Russian social thought throughout its long history, ending at the Communist revolution of November 7, takes us to the point when only one form of social thought was officially allowed in the Soviet press.

The revision and abridgment of the two books into one is in several ways actually an improvement; and the American volume is more easily readable. The whole work has been reduced by something like 45 per cent. This would have seemed likely to be fatal; but the original was very rich and diffuse; and Maynard's style was sometimes rather involved; where he would at times, out of his vast knowledge, give, say, four or five illustrations of a given point, the reviser might well content himself with a judicious choice of one or two. Particularly rich, for instance, is Maynard's wonderful chapter, The Intelligentsia and the Worship of the Plain Folk, in which he shows the most detailed knowledge and intimate understanding of all the brilliant gallery of the most varied Russian thinkers and writers. I would advise all scholars, if possible, to obtain and read the original English work published in London by Victor Gollancz; nevertheless, the essence of the original is contained in the abridgment, and is even perhaps more clearly seen. Above all, there shines forth Maynard's outstanding characteristic, his flair for *le mot juste*—the exact word or phrase which gives a faithful and complete expression and judgment of the matter in question.

Two of Maynard's judgments, both central to the whole subject, have been accepted everywhere. One is that whereas in the West we judge everything by the test of political democracy and especially by the vote, in the East the central test has always been economic security. Political justice was a more or less (yes, more or less) complete achievement of the America of the Republic or of the England of Gladstone, —an achievement scarcely possible without peace or even without comparative isolation. In England the Liberal Party made a complete success of it, and there stopped short. The great Manchester Liberals were often industrialists and even more wealthy than their landed Tory antagonists. They did not go on to face the question of economic security, without which, as Maynard insists, political democracy may become almost a comedy; and by the time they saw their mistake, the gap was appropriately filled by the Labor Party. In Russia it was quite different. This is one of the chief reasons why Eastern history exceeds our own in violence. In Russia or the Bal-

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kans no one has ever cared very much about votes; the minority, as politicians of Eastern Europe would readily admit, does not respect the verdict. The Nihilists who killed Alexander II were really as indifferent to this question as the czars, or even more so. As both Maynard and Crankshaw recognize, liberalism in Russia, though it forms the chief interest of a long period of Russian history, was more or less an exotic plant. For Russians the central event of history before the revolution was the emancipation of the majority of the population in 1861. This was an event of far greater importance than any political development, and it is around social questions that Russian public opinion, first formed by that great event, has revolved ever since. Economic security is the first plank of the Soviet structure.

The other outstanding contribution of Maynard is his perception of the significance of "the release of energy" which the Soviet revolution accomplished. It is the more valuable because we tend to regard the Soviet system as the ultimate achievement so far of socialism; actually the czarist system was itself a very flabby and corrupt form of socialism. Those who have seen much of Soviet Russia must own that "the release of energy," that is, the general development of initiative under the present socialist regime, is its most striking feature. How is this? I have always challenged the Soviet claim that they are the only socialist state in the world, and that we are all pure capitalists without thought for social questions, for in legislation at least social reforms began much earlier in the West. Maynard devotes a final chapter to this subject under the title Personality out of Collectivism. One needs to know something of the old Russia to understand this. Klyuchevsky, the greatest of Russian historians, who died in 1911, remarked that in Russia the government was always something different and apart from "the people"; and as a matter of fact, the word "people" in the old Russia meant the peasants, who were serfs up to 1861. "Initiative" (*nachalstvo*) was actually a synonym for the government.

I would like in particular to commend to the reader this passage from Maynard's last chapter:

The Russian is not a philosopher at all, but rather one who uses all the philosophies to justify a moral passion for the regeneration of mankind and the fulfilment of the Messianic mission of Moscow. This is why there is no real danger of this people becoming obsessed by dogma, despite the rigidity of their quasi-philosophers. When they find that a rule does not fit life, they give the preference to life; in other words, fall back upon more primitive and enduring convictions.

Maynard, with his limitations of time and distance, of course had to perform a *tour de force;* but he had the immense advantage of starting his studies well before the revolution. That, sometimes, makes all the difference in one's guesses about the present. Crankshaw never had that great advantage; so that he has even to start with guesses. There is this atmosphere about his book: he harps on "the mighty plain" and "the gray masses," and one can't help feeling that he makes too great play with them, though they cannot of course be absent from Maynard or any other writer about Russia. Crankshaw makes one very apposite inference from the "mighty plain." He writes, "There is nothing whatever to stop a perpetual centrifugal drift." That explains so much of Russian history. It explains the perpetual drive of colonization. It explains the government's perpetual effort to keep things where they *are* if only to make sure of taxes and recruits; it explains serfdom, and the degradation into bondage of the majority of the population. Like Maynard also, Crankshaw does justice to the strong instinct for equality among the peasant people.

We find in his book deficiencies, and even mistakes. It is pretty clear that he has not an accurate knowledge of the revolution and is far too ready to assume that the Bolsheviks were right because they came out right. One section called The Three Revolutions is perhaps the weakest of the book. Guchkov was not a wicked bourgeois but a gallant figure, of a stature like that of Winston Churchill in England. The sentence on page 97, "The peasants were demanding the land which the [provisional] government had no intention of letting them have," is both ignorant and ridiculous. Andrei Shingarez, at the Ministry of Agriculture, was doing all that he could to give it to them, and they were taking it wholesale by themselves. Michael (page 94) was the brother and not the son of Nicholas II, and the mistake is important: the abdication by Nicholas at the last moment in favor of his brother—who, incidentally, did not accept the throne—was fatal to the plans of the liberals, who counted on a regency for the thirteen-year-old son. If Mr. Crankshaw had been familiar with certain features in the history of the Russian peasantry, he would perhaps agree that they had a clearer sense, before the revolution, of what was a real

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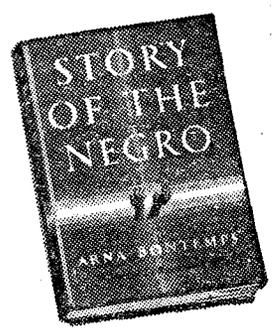
Story of the Negro

by ARNA BONTEMPS
Chief Librarian of Fisk University



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election than any other class; and no wonder—for they were the only class who had had anything like a democratic system in the management of their own land, which they owned in common.

I find the chief merit of Mr. Crankshaw's work in a number of short pointed sentences which are often peculiarly on the mark, and with three of these I will conclude:

Although the Russians in a sense are the most imaginative people in the world, the Marxist training, applied to the Russian temperament, precludes the exercise of the free imagination.

Their rulers . . . on the face of it, are such a very long way from them that they have to use a secret police and all the apparatus of tyranny to rule them.

We have already said that the great gift which Russia brings to the world—intellectual honesty, a remarkable freedom of outlook such as in the West characterizes only the artist—has as its reverse a sort of defeatism . . . one day he [the Russian] will suddenly realize the deadly limitations of the Marxist dialectic, with its inescapable implications of puppetry, and then, once more, he will be lost.

BERNARD PARES

Sir Thomas More

THE CORRESPONDENCE OF SIR THOMAS MORE. Edited by Elizabeth Frances Rogers. Princeton University Press. $7.50.

HUMANIST AS HERO. By Theodore Maynard. The Macmillan Company. $3.

IT IS hard to discuss a book dealing with a great man without sounding some of those organ tones which, to the modern ear, seem pretentious. Yet there is no honest way of dealing lightly, or coldly, with a fully developed human being. What *can* be said, casually, of a man who originated the term "Utopia," was the first modern Communist, wrote a powerful critique of Tudor England's social diseases, became Lord Chancellor of England under Henry VIII, was murdered by the Henrician despotism, has been declared a saint in the Roman Catholic church?

Since the Renaissance we have moved from the large energy of Rabelais's Gargantua and the dignity of Othello to the impotence of James Joyce's Mr. Bloom and the bafflement of James Thurber. Petty specialists ourselves, we find the versatile giants of the Renaissance our best human subjects of exhaustive study.

Few of Thomas More's letters have been published until now in any one place, and some have never been printed before. They are of unusual interest because they express, more fully than More's formal writings, his varied personality: the saint and martyr; the citizen, lawyer, city official, and ambassador; the humanist, "novelist," and grammarian; the landowner, business man, and colonizer; the reformer, pamphleteer, polemicist in religion, politics, and economics. There are scholars all over the world—especially in England, France, and the Soviet Union—who will welcome this major aid to their studies of More and of Renaissance society. There is also a large body of general readers on whom More's personal charm and vigorous thought still exercise a peculiar influence after more than four hundred years. The least aloof of saints, he has a broad religious following, chiefly among Catholics. Since he was the most realistic of Utopian socialists, his "Utopia" still holds vitality

COMMUNISM AND MAN

by F. J. Sheed

IT IS all too easy to condemn Communism on Russia's record: easy, but not fair. Too few either of those in favor of, or against, Communism bother to understand what its underlying philosophy is.

The first half of this book is simply a statement of what Marx meant by Communism, and is probably the only short study of the subject to follow out Lenin's hint that without Hegel Marx is incomprehensible. Having laid this foundation, the author criticizes Communism, not as it has been worked out in practice, nor for any proceedings of the Russians that we may not like (indeed, Russia is not mentioned in the book) but for its fundamental errors—especially the refusal to take the trouble to understand the nature of men before going ahead and making plans for them. **$2.50**

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for reformers of varied political bent.

Of the giants of transition Thomas More was not the least, and he remains one of perhaps three or four clearly great Englishmen. Concerning such figures any and all information is welcome, and Miss Rogers has assembled a great plenty—all of More's extant letters except for the correspondence with Erasmus, which is easily available elsewhere. Many modern readers will not care to work through the letters written in Latin; most of these are of primary interest to specialists in literary history. Some of the Latin letters deal with the "Utopia," but these can be read in English in Nichols's translations of Erasmus's correspondence, in Lupton's (the best) edition of "Utopia," and in the Everyman's Library edition.

All readers will have an interest in the moving letters in English which More wrote while imprisoned in the Tower of London. He had refused to bow before the wrath of Henry VIII when nearly every other prominent Englishman had bowed: he had denied approval of Henry's annulment of the marriage to Queen Catherine, and this implied a silent but clear rejection of Henry's tyranny over the church and the people. Pain he feared, but not death. What must have come closest to breaking down his resistance to thought control was the knowledge of the hurt and trouble which would surely come to his family and friends as a result of his decision. The day before he was beheaded the last words he ever wrote went to his daughter Margaret: in these there was nothing about his case or the affairs of the world—only faith, and love for his family, bequests of a handkerchief and a picture, requests that they all be good to one another. "Owr Lorde blisse you goode dowghter and your goode husbande and your litle boye and all yours and all my children and all my godchildren and all owr freindis."

The remarkable words that Vanzetti spoke about Sacco apply almost as well to Thomas More. He was "a heart, a faith, a character, a man; a man, lover of nature and mankind; a man who gave all, who sacrifice all to the cause of liberty and to his love for mankind —money, rest, mundane ambition, his own wife, his children, himself, and his own life." It is well, though, that Vanzetti should remind us that the well-remembered, famous, and successful Thomas More is not a unique hero and martyr but is greatest as a symbol of millions of obscure men and women in human history who sacrificed all for principle and for love of mankind.

The English letters prove that More was a man of principle not only on the great stage of English history but in lesser things as well. When some grain-filled barns of his burned, and those of his neighbors also, he wrote to his wife: "I pray you to make some good enserche what my poore neyghebors have loste and byd them take no thought therfore, for and I shuld not leve my selff a spone there shall no poore neghebore of myne berre no losse by eny chaunce hapned in my howse."

The kind of selflessness that has gone into the making of this book should also be mentioned. Such work is largely drudgery. Miss Rogers has devoted sixteen summers and a sabbatical year to the task, and this means that she has given heavily from her resources of energy and money simply to advance human knowledge. It is often forgotten that we have heroes and heroines in literary and social science as well as in pure science, especially among those who give the better part of their lives to collecting and preparing the documents which are the foundation of historical interpretation. Miss Rogers has not limited herself to the heavy-enough labor of collating and restoring More's own letters but has provided us with letters written to him, other pertinent correspondence, and a body of historical notes very rich in brief biographies. It is proper that the book should be beautifully printed.

Mr. Maynard's biography of More specifically recognizes the heroic aspect of his life in its title, "Humanist as Hero." It is clearly one of the best books on More to come from the hagiographic tradition. Like most of them, it ingeniously clears More of any blame in a number of respects—in youthful amours, hasty remarriage, persecution of heretics, ungentle controversy, attack upon the fallen Chancellor, Cardinal Wolsey. Unlike some books in the Catholic series, however, it is fair to the largely unpleasant memory of Henry VIII, accepts the close relationship of

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More to Erasmus and reform, and makes good sense in recognizing the serious nature of "Utopia."

RUSSELL AMES

The Impressionists

THE HISTORY OF IMPRESSIONISM. By John Rewald. The Museum of Modern Art. Distributed by Simon and Schuster. $10.

THIS year-by-year history of the impressionist movement in painting is one of the most useful works of art scholarship ever published in English. The art critic, the student, and the connoisseur cannot be grateful enough for the wealth of fact it contains and for the chronological vividness with which it is arranged. Not least among the virtues of the book are its numerous reproductions, which seem to have been chosen with the special purpose of bringing to our attention works which are not widely reproduced or seen.

One could ask the author for a little more understanding of the technical procedures of the painters he writes about, and for a more concrete description of the way in which impressionism grew out of and then differentiated itself from the art that preceded it. But Mr. Rewald is an art historian exclusively, not at all a critic, and he does not claim to be one. In his introduction he quotes the French historian, Fustel de Coulanges: "History is not an art; it is a pure science. It does not consist in telling a pleasant story or in profound philosophizing. Like all science it consists in stating the facts, in analyzing them, in drawing them together, and in bringing out their connections. . . ."

I think that Mr. Rewald could still have done a little more to bring out the "connections" and been a little less literal in his view of what constitutes a "fact" in art history. The motive that influences a painter is no less a fact than the one that influences a statesman or a social class. Let us hope that in the future Mr. Rewald will expand his notion of his subject matter. Meanwhile we are grateful for what he has given us in this present book. Whatever its omissions, it remains a great feat of scholarship.

CLEMENT GREENBERG

Freedom and Efficiency

ALTERNATIVE TO SERFDOM. By James Maurice Clark. Alfred A. Knopf. $3.

IT USED to be said that only a poet who had become a master of rhyme could safely turn to free verse; perhaps only an economist who is proficient in the subtleties of orthodox theory is entitled to deal with those larger questions of social policy which lie outside its assumptions. Certainly, Professor Clark understands his theory; he did not stop learning in the ancient days B. K. (Before Keynes); he has made noteworthy contributions of his own. This book, consisting of lectures delivered on the William W. Cook Foundation at the University of Michigan, inquires what Americans can do to manage their economy in view of developments to which classical economics can offer no safe guide.

Unlike Mr. Hayek, who argues that any abandonment of the ancient rules must lead to serfdom, Mr. Clark, acknowledging that they are in some respects irrelevant, sets out to find an acceptable alternative. The market was not a reliable organizer of human effort even under such competition as once prevailed; competitive forces are now so hedged about by various approximations to monopoly, administrative decisions, and group pressures that they are less dependable than ever. Many of these restrictions men will not, in the interest of security or other values, consent to abandon. Yet when impersonal and "automatic" adjustment fails, something must take its place if the community is to flourish. We do not want a totalitarian state to do so, for that would mean serfdom indeed, but few have gone beyond this conclusion to inquire carefully how a society organized in independent and often conflicting groups can be disciplined sufficiently not to throttle itself.

It is easy enough to say that if our society is to succeed in preserving both efficiency and freedom, we shall have to undergo a learning process which historically would be expected to take a long time, but for which no such time is available. It is easy enough to call for a sense of responsibility in both individuals and groups, and to point out that the condition of retaining freedom is not to push power too far. Such moral imperatives, necessary though they are, must be attached to concrete judgments, to knowledge of what can and what cannot be done in specific situations, if they are to be of much use.

The particular virtue of Mr. Clark's book is that his knowledge, both theoretical and practical, enables him to analyze questions of this kind. After laying his groundwork, which includes one of the best discussions I have read of the appositeness of the Keynes formulations to some types of situations and their inappropriateness to others, he takes for his special field of discussion the difficult question of wage and price adjustment under full employment. How can it be managed to avoid inflation, exploitation of weaker by stronger parts of the community, or dangerous interruptions of production? There is no pat answer, and perfection is not to be expected, but knowledge of the dangers and the possibilities, such as the expert is able to provide, will go far to help us establish the new standards which are necessary.

A book which makes headway in this direction, as "Alternative to Serfdom" does, may do much to counteract the wholly destructive influence of those who advocate an impossible return to orthodoxy because we want to be free.

GEORGE SOULE

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Fiction in Review

HUMPHREY SLATER, whose first novel, "The Heretics," appeared last year, has written a new novel on a related theme, "Conspirator" (Harcourt, Brace, $2.75). "The Heretics" was a two-part story, the first dealing with the Albigensian crusades, the second with their modern analogue—the Communist struggle in Spain. Its point was that fanaticism and heresy-hunting are recurring phenomena of history; or perhaps it would be more accurate to say that its point was to indicate the degree to which the present-day Communist movement conceals behind its idealism the same ferocious inhumanity that lay behind the religious crusades of the Middle Ages. Mr. Slater's second novel undertakes the same educational task a good deal more economically and dramatically. "Conspirator" is the story of a well-placed Englishman of our own time, Major Lightfoot of the Grenadier Guards, who while keeping up all the appearances of middle-class conformity is actually a spy for the Soviet Union. Lightfoot's loyalty to the Communist cause makes a monster of him, a moral automaton for whom the usual standards of our society are entirely replaced by the single principle of party discipline.

"Conspirator" takes place after the recent war. Mr. Slater has very wisely compressed the time-span of his narrative into as little space as possible: we are introduced to Lightfoot at the moment when that rigorous gentleman is experiencing the unprescribed emotion of falling in love and marrying, without the knowledge of the party, a charming, innocent girl of seventeen. After an idyllic honeymoon in Switzerland Lightfoot resumes his work as a professional British soldier and a non-professional but wholly dedicated secret agent of Russia. Mystified by a certain oddness in her husband's behavior, Harriet begins to suspect that he is engaged in activities she has not been told about. She investigates, discovers the nature of his secret life, and confronts him with what she has learned. Lightfoot is forced to report this development to his party chiefs; and he is also forced to accept Moscow's decision that only by killing Harriet can he eliminate the danger she now represents and prove his own loyalty. But although Lightfoot does not question either the party's right to give him this order or the justice of the order itself, he finds that he is unable to execute it successfully. He is therefore prepared for the next disciplinary step, his own liquidation; indeed, he is prepared to conspire in it. When he suspects that his murder is being fumbled by his comrades (actually, it is not his comrades who are trailing him, but Scotland Yard, to which his comrades have betrayed him), he performs his last act of submission to the revolutionary will: he commits suicide.

In its bold outlines Mr. Slater's story is excellently conceived. Although spare, it should have given all the room that was necessary for investigating the major moral problem involved in the ultimate dedication to the revolutionary ideal, for formulating and resolving the conflict between private and political loyalties. In the writing, however, "Conspirator" falls short of being as satisfying a dramatic statement as it could have been, and one has the impression that this inadequacy is due to the weakness of Mr. Slater's understanding of the motivations of his two main characters. For instance, it has to be taken quite on faith that Lightfoot is capable of falling in love with a girl like Harriet; nothing one is told about him makes either his passion or his tenderness credible. Nor is it credible that anyone so experienced in spying and so skilful at it would dare risk marriage with so conventional a partner, or that anyone so well trained in party discipline as Lightfoot would dare marry without the party's consent. Even more fundamental, there is never any sufficient explanation, in the few facts Mr. Slater gives us about Lightfoot's early background, of his having committed himself so thoroughly to the Communist cause. Again, the seventeen-year-old Harriet is herself hard to believe in. She is much too middle-class a girl to be as free of family protection as Mr. Slater shows her, much too naive in political matters to be as quick and well-organized in her responses to Lightfoot's treachery as she turns out to be, much too involved sexually with her husband to be as emotionally independent of him as she becomes the moment she learns of his double life. These flaws of characterization might not be very noticeable in a more discursive story; in a novel like "Conspirator," which draws its moral in terms of the dilemma of individuals, they enormously weaken the impact of the central conflict. As a study in revolution and the problems of loyalty it can generate, "Conspirator" must inevitably call to mind Conrad's wonderful "Under Western Eyes." But unfortunately, despite his firm grasp upon his moral case and the fine directness of his style, Mr. Slater lacks Conrad's masterly ability to create fully consistent persons and fully developed situations. A large part of the

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drama, and therefore of the meaning, of his novel is lost because of the holes in his construction of character, and because he handles his important scenes too hastily. There was the same technical criticism to be made of his previous book: in both "Conspirator" and "The Heretics" Mr. Slater has produced something which reads more like the scenario of a first-rate book than a completely realized performance.

DIANA TRILLING

Verse Chronicle

IN JEAN GARRIGUE'S early poems one found landscapes full of effectively queer details and phrases, an adulterated freshness and naivete, and many sorts of awkwardness and weakness; this promising poetry has lost old virtues and gained new vices—as it has become more rapid, exaggerated, and easily rhetorical—until a great deal of it, by now, is a textbook of forced, automatic, and random rhetoric. One sees inside half a page: "A gauged discord, irregular and clair,/Or corsleted in ribands like a beau . . . rayed and tangled in douce ropes . . . a belle cool din. . . ." Imagine Stevens's remorseful groans as he reads this; or Dylan Thomas's as he reads, "Wracked by the seas sprung of the Venus,/By the green loin hairy . . . I cleft the great spiral as the hour brimmed . . . thronged protest and pride/Mixed with the lymph and milk of my mother. . . ." And *'gainst* and *'mid* and *'mong* and *'twixt* rain on the 'wildered reader thick as *O's*. It takes a zoo to lead Miss Garrigue up from this hell of rhetoric; one goes through "The Ego and the Centaur" (New Directions, $2.50) searching longingly for the human, faintly Moore-ish faces of the animals. What Miss Garrigue needs—as the animals prove—is subjects that she can look at, care for, and say something about: plainly she *can* write.

Conrad Aiken's "The Kid" (Duell, Sloan, and Pearce, $2.50) is one of those manufactured, sponsored, "American" epics: a surprisingly crude hodge-podge of store-bought homespun, of Madison Square Garden patriotism, of Johnny Appleseed and Moby Dick and Paul Revere and the Grand Canyon, all banged out in conscientiously rough rhymes, meter, and grammar—"just like a ballad." There is something a little too musically ectoplasmic, too pretty-pretty, about Mr. Aiken's best poems; but one longs for them as one wanders, like an imported camel, through the Great American Desert of "The Kid."

Muriel Rukeyser is a forcible writer with a considerable talent for emotional rhetoric, but she has a random melodramatic hand and rather unfortunate models and standards for her work—one feels about most of her poems pretty much as one feels about the girl on last year's calendar, and prefers to think of Miss Rukeyser only as the poet who wrote Ajanta. There is nothing so good as Ajanta in her new book, "The Green Wave" (Doubleday and Co., $2.50); the best poem in the book, I think, is Mrs. Walpurga, a sliding, oil-and-honey, sexual fantasy, half-dream, half-nightmare. It is hard not to feel indifferent toward any single poem in the book, since you can see that Miss Rukeyser—and not just Miss Rukeyser—could turn out a thousand more quite like it. The poems are, essentially, improvisations, easy reworkings of the automatic images of a rhetorical-emotional trance-state in which everything slides into everything else, in which everything is no more than the transition to everything else: if my reader will get as woolly-headed and as oracularly emotional as he can—as if, say, he were listening to "Tristan" with complete sympathy and empathy—and then utter, in a slow wavy voice, joined by *ands,* the most powerful and troubling images he can think of on the spur of the moment, he will get the raw material of one of Miss Rukeyser's elegies, of George Barker's elegies, of many other contemporary poems. But where everything is a dream, dreams are worthless: after a whole book of images changing into images, the reader would trade tons of them for one scruple of common logic, one everyday unchanging fact, one line as blessedly prosaic as

A Mr. Wilkinson, a clergyman.

After all, Proust's "fork, fork, Francis Jammes" dream has so much effect precisely because Norpois has never uttered one dreaming word. But many poets—I'm not talking about Miss Rukeyser now—write as if they had been decerebrated, and not simply lobotomized, as a cure for their melancholia.

Consider this very typical quotation:

Man, an explosion walking through the night in
Rich and intolerable loneliness.
Cathedrals writhing gold against their clouds
And a child asking the fiery pure questions.

Here, just as it usually is, Miss Rukeyser's real concern is to tell the reader, excitingly, how he ought to feel about something. She hardly ever shows him the thing and lets him feel for himself—her rhetoric is a sort of oratorical, oracular testimonial to make him buy it without even looking. *Are* the questions pure and fiery? Are the things man bears intolerable? Well, in this sort of poetry they always are. The rhythm of every last syllable is crying: "Don't ask questions—lie back, child; don't you want to be moved?" Yes; but more than this—and more specifically than this. You tell us the questions and we'll tell you whether they're pure and fiery. And—and it's all so *familiar.*

Miss Rukeyser's worst and most familiar lines—there aren't too many—are

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all rhetorical sublimations of the horrible advertising-agency idealism of Corwin or Wallace or Fast or MacLeish or the N. A. M., of sermons and radio programs and editorials and speeches: what our ignorant forbears called *cant*. But Miss Rukeyser is so original—if one leaves comic-strips out of the question—in her use of a Freudian or sexual imagery for this idealism that one feels, with dismay and delight, that one is listening to the Common Siren of our century, a siren photographed in a sequin bathing suit, on rocks like boiled potatoes, for the week-end edition of *PM*, in order to bring sex to the deserving poor. When you think of yourself as that terrible thing, a public figure—and Miss Rukeyser does, to a considerable extent—it's hard to decide what you do feel, what the real reasons are; and how are the images and emotions of Miss Rukeyser's dream-rhetoric going to decide between *do* and *should, real* and *good?* The average poem in "The Green Wave" is all flesh and feeling and fantasy: as if reality were a pure blooming buzz, with the poet murmuring to the poem, "Flow, flow!" Yet all the time the poem keeps repeating, keeps remembering to repeat, that it is a *good* girl—that it is, after all, dying for the people; the reader wanders, full of queasy delight, through the labyrinthine corridors of the strange, moral, sexual wish-fantasy for which he is to be awarded, somehow, a gold star by the Perfect State.

RANDALL JARRELL

Records

B. H. HAGGIN

DELIUS's "Brigg Fair," one of his most beautiful works, is issued by RCA Victor (Set 1206, $3.50), superbly performed by Beecham and the Royal Philharmonic, and reproduced with the refinement of rich sonority characteristic of English recording, though also with characteristic overweight of bass.

The music from Tchaikovsky's ballet "The Sleeping Beauty" recorded by Stokowski (Set 1205, $8.75)—more than we have heard in the one-act productions of "Aurora's Wedding" and "Princess Aurora"—is melodious and ingeniously imaginative; and I can't account for the fact that most of it doesn't give me the pleasure I get from a few passages—the Blue Bird, the Panaroma, the waltz on side 12. Stokowski's treatment of the music is admirably unaffected; the playing of the specially assembled orchestra under his direction is first-rate in sonority and finish (except for an unprecise passage in the Blue Bird); and the performance is beautifully reproduced by recording which employed a new technique of seating and microphone-placement. For some reason Stokowski omits the conclusion of the Blue Bird; my ear tells me there is more on side 3 than his description and the label specify; and it is difficult to fit the musical excerpts into the story written as usual by Victor's rich-beautiful-prose department with the help of an imagination that can hear the waltz on the last side "imperceptibly . . . slow into the stately measures of the Sarabande."

Rimsky-Korsakov's "Antar" Symphony, which I find boring, is well performed by Monteux and the San Francisco Symphony, and excellently reproduced (Set 1203, $4.75). Benjamin Britten's "Matinees Musicales" is a suite made out of material from Rossini, the whole of which seems to me as pointless as its reorchestration of the dance from "William Tell," and which is well performed by Fiedler and the Boston "Pops" Orchestra and well recorded (Set 1203, $4). And one of Franck's more engaging pieces, the Morceau Symphonique from "Redemption," is well performed by Defauw and the Chicago Symphony and reproduced with a brilliance that gets a little strident (12-0187, $1.25).

From Columbia there is Tchaikovsky's Fourth Symphony, played by Ormandy and the Philadelphia Orchestra (Set 736, $7.10), with examples of characteristic Ormandy fussiness in sonority, pace, and inflection (including some in the second movement oboe solo that may be Tabuteau's own), and reproduced for once with proper balance and naturalness of orchestral sound, though with a strangely rumbling bass. Also with surfaces that are not as quiet as Columbia's normally are.

And from English Decca a set (41, $7.35) of music from "Carmen"—the usual instrumental excerpts plus transcriptions of the Habanera and Micaela's aria—well played, for the most part, by the National Symphony under Fistoulari, and excellently reproduced; and a set (42, $7.35) of excerpts from Bizet's two "L'Arlésienne" suites, acceptably played by the same orchestra under Beer, and well reproduced except for excessively heavy bass and sharpness in the sound of the violins.

Jerome Robbins's sleepwalking ballet—another brilliantly perceptive and witty achievement on the order of his Mack Sennett ballet in "High Button Shoes"—makes "Look, Ma, I'm Dancin'!" something not to miss. In addition there are Nancy Walker's gifts for hilarious comedy, and the lyrics, if not the music, of Hugh Martin's songs.

CONTRIBUTORS

SIR BERNARD PARES, founder of the London School of Slavonic and East European Studies, is the author of "A History of Russia." He is now teaching at Sarah Lawrence and the New School.

RUSSELL AMES, a member of the English Department of Queens College, is the author of "Citizen Thomas More and His Utopia," to appear soon.

J. T. WOLPERT is a member of the Department of Sociology and Anthropology at the University of Buffalo.

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Letters to the Editors

Phony Maginot Line

Dear Sir: Your "debate" on U. M. T. states the pro's and con's with unusual clarity. It does seem to me important to point out that according to William Batt's own figures U. M. T. will not enable us to compete with the U. S. S. R. in trained, armed man-power; . . . that the only way the United States can compete in that field is by total mobilization, which is out of the question, I believe, in time of peace; and that as a consequence the United States and its allies are inevitably going to be on the defensive militarily in the early stages of any war launched by an aggressor. Acceptance of these facts leads us inevitably to a recognition that the way to prevent aggressive action by others is by making absolutely clear that this country and its allies will fight for freedom wherever it is threatened. The Nazis and the Fascists lost a gamble, based on the belief that the democracies would not fight. If this country has the will to fight for freedom, it need not build up a vast semi-trained reserve; any aggressor will be deterred from making war by the clear knowledge that the United States and its allies, if attacked, will mobilize and will fight to the finish. That leaves us and our allies planning for an effective defense of ourselves and, so far as possible, of our major bases while we prepare our counter-offensive. It does not seem to me that this requires U. M. T. It does require a full complement in our authorized armed forces and a modern air force and navy backed by a strong volunteer reserve and National Guard; I am convinced these can be obtained by a sound and democratic approach.

No system of conscription will give this country the will to fight for freedom. The form is no substitute for the substance. Witness the fall of France. It is time that the leaders of this country spent more time and effort in renewing the faith of the American people that democracy, wherever it is, is worth fighting for. That means there must be continuing progress at home and abroad in real life-giving gains for the mass of mankind.

Certainly, world government is the only answer to permanent peace. Certainly, we must preserve the temporary peace until we achieve permanent peace. But we in America need not cower behind a phony Maginot line in the meantime. Can it be that our leaders lack faith in democracy?

RICHARD W. BOLLING

Kansas City, Mo., April 23

True "Universal Service"

Dear Sirs: That modern war must inevitably be conducted on two broad interdependent fronts, one in the field by the military forces, the other at home by the civilian forces, is now an accepted truism. It follows therefore that if unlimited governmental control of a country's military man-power is essential to the effective waging of war, unlimited governmental control of the country's financial and industrial resources is equally essential to this same end. The past prevailing practice of governments has been to conscript the military forces but to depend in largest part on voluntary action for securing the money and supplies necessary to maintain the war effort. This practice can no longer be followed without incurring very grave risks, nor is it likely to be followed in a future major conflict by any government except possibly our own.

The new concept of "total war" necessarily implies total mobilization and organization for war. Just as voluntary action has become inadequate to meet the large-scale combat need, so it has become inadequate to meet the large-scale financial and industrial needs. What is now called "universal service" must remain no more than a partially effective and halfway measure until it is extended, under the same sanction and in accordance with the same general technique as the military draft, to embrace the entire population. . . .

Some will doubtless argue that by the imposition of special taxes and the adoption—as in World War II—of "priority control" over certain basic materials the government does indeed exercise financial and industrial compulsion in war time. This, however, is only a very partial and limited compulsion. The special taxes meet no more than a relatively small portion of current war expenses, while "priority control" scarcely touches the all-essential problem of securing and properly allocating man-power for industrial production. Nothing short of *complete* mobilization and organization of all national resources can meet the demands of "total war."

But even if such genuine "universal service" were not recognized as a sternly practical imperative, it would still remain a moral imperative. Surely nothing could be less ethically defensible than the old practice of compelling one population group to perform the most difficult and hazardous and repulsive tasks known to man, while at the same time putting little or no compulsion on the remaining population with respect to the kind and degree of its contribution to the national effort. This gross inequity is heightened and exacerbated by the flagrant disparity in terms and conditions under which the military and civilian groups make their respective contributions. Those in the military or conscripted category, uprooted from their homes and required to risk health and limb and life itself, receive little more than a merely nominal wage for their unlimited services. Those in the civilian or non-conscripted category, on the other hand, though they continue in their customary way of life, take no unusual risks, and contribute only within strictly defined limitations, receive liberal and often lavish compensation, so that in the two previous world wars of our generation they enjoyed unprecedented prosperity and well-being. Yet to meet its needs on the home front the government must constantly endeavor in publicity statements to equate these two kinds of "national service" and insist that both are forms of "patriotic sacrifice" on virtually the same footing. The result of all this is directly subversive of the morale of our fighting forces, and indirectly demoralizing—in the literal sense of that word—to the country as a whole.

WALDO R. BROWNE

Warwick, N. Y., April 23

[*Richard W. Bolling is vice-chairman of the American Veterans' Committee, but he writes that "my letter does not represent precisely the standard A. V. C. position, which incidentally I think sound in itself." Waldo R. Browne, a former literary editor of* The Nation, *is the author of "Altgeld of Illinois." In an early issue we will present a "round-up" of letters discussing the "debate" on U. M. T. between Harold Taylor and William L. Batt, Jr. We invite all interested readers to send us their views.* —EDITORS THE NATION.]

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A Southerner's Advice

Dear Sirs: I address myself to the people of the South: Believing in the Christian ideals of the brotherhood of man and also having faith in our democratic processes, I believe immediate changes are necessary in the United States today if we hope to develop our spirit as a free nation.

Strides have been made in granting more privileges and opportunities to the minority group in Southern states, but these are undone by the continuance of inequalities and injustices detrimental to the moral fiber of the nation. There are those in high office who would continue to blast any proposals giving opportunities for equal and better working conditions and the simple upholding of rights and privileges granted by our Constitution. (We should be ashamed of what they and others are doing to impede real progress.)

We believe that all men are created equal and have the equal right to justice under law and that there should be freedom of thought, expression, and worship. These and the right to a better way of life and equal rights we believe also to be a part of democracy. Who can truthfully say that all the privileges and opportunities of this system of government are accepted and granted by those who administer them?

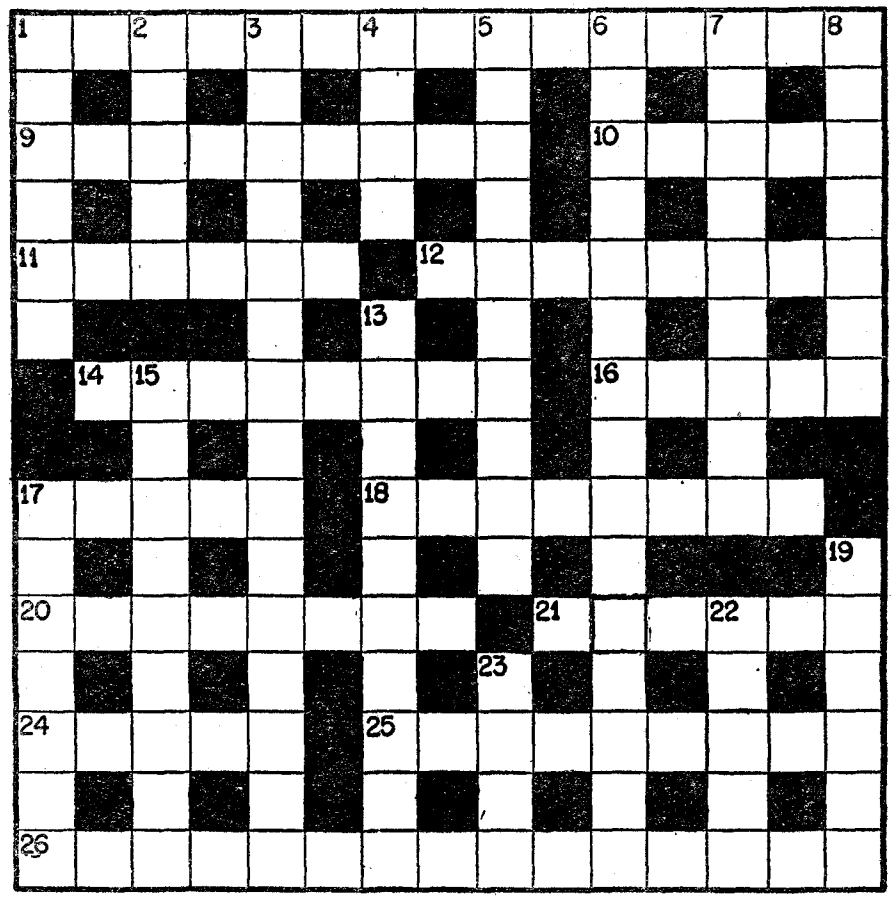
The United States is working with other nations which desire an enduring world peace and the freedom of man. A United Nations Commission on Human Rights is preparing an international covenant which will be a binding force giving human rights to all people. America is leading this work, but surely with hidden hypocrisy. Individuals, church groups, and organizations in the South are giving voice to their disapproval of existing laws, customs, and practices directed to the minority.

The President has advanced a positive program for the correction of the stigma of segregation in his statement listing action desirable and feasible at this time. Only after the Committee on Civil Rights had made an extensive study and report of the situation, did the program emerge. In part it asks federal legislation against lynching, the establishment of a permanent FEPC, the strengthening of existing civil-rights statutes and more adequate protection for the right to vote. Are these radical departures from established ideals of democracy? One need only examine the Constitution.

And yet Southern leaders cry out that all "true Southerners" must take a stand

Crossword Puzzle No. 261

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 Statuesque glamor boy. (6, 9)
9 How a drumhead fits? (9)
10 Cut by 21. (5)
11 Is this out on a limb? (6)
12 and 1 down. Comparatively unruffled. (2, 6, 2, 4)
14 I clear up something strange. (8)
16 Wouldn't suit a rebel. (5)
17 Mulled beer with a tea chaser? (5)
18 Study symbols and sometimes ships. (8)
20 These protect all hands on watch. (8)
21 What a fool wears? (6)
24 It's plain that it comes back on all. (5)
25 Something I follow, I'd train to change it. (9)
26 If this Tommy watches out, he shouldn't get into hot water. (10, 5)

DOWN

1 See 12 across.
2 This is due to nothing on one side. (5)
3 Stock-market reports from Rome? (5, 10)
4 New models and old houses sometimes have them. (4)
5 On a trapeze, this might unseasonably lead to 15. (4, 6)
6 No longer corresponding? (15)
7 An out-break in ox-poles. (9)
8 One must change it when near the dirt. (7)
13 Things like this get around. (10)
15 See 5. (5, 4)
17 Not like a city slicker. (7)
19 I said I'd open it. (6)
22 Country ware. (5)
23 Ditch this Lord (and it isn't funny!) (4)

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 260

ACROSS:—1 COUNTERS; 5 PARCEL; 10 PRIMP; 11 NICKNAMED; 12 CONSOLE; 13 COXCOMB; 14 XANADU; 15 ANDOVER; 18 ASKANCE; 21 PALTRY; 24 MILKSOP; 26 CAMELOT; 27 THEORISTS; 28 NIGHT; 29 RESUME; 30 COSSETED.

DOWN:—1 COPECK; 2 UNION JACK; 3 TAPIOCA; 4 RONDEAU; 6 ANNEXED; 7 CAMEO; 8 LADYBIRD; 9 ACACIA; 16 VERY LIGHT; 17 GAS METER; 19 NOSTRUM; 20 EL PASO; 21 PICASSO; 22 LAMENTS; 23 STATED; 25 LOESS.

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against the passage of any laws granting these rights. Others say that the proposals are ridiculous. There are also individuals and organized groups actively protesting against any change for the South, contending that the South should remain as it is.

You can change this unpleasant picture in several ways. United effort in urging Southern leaders to discontinue action against the South's minority is vitally needed. An effort can be made at the polls to elect people who on local, state, and national levels of government will be leaders in democracy. Support organizations and individuals which are seeking to correct the present undesirable situation. Voice your support of the civil-rights program.

I believe that you realize the necessity of America discarding its hypocritical practices as quickly as possible and embarking on wiser and more expedient courses of action.

C. BAXTER TWIDDY

Elon College, N. C., April 24

Roy Temple House

Dear Sirs: On May 26 Roy Temple House will be seventy. His name never was blared by the trumpets of fame. He struck his roots in Oklahoma and wisely chose to let the roots grow deeper. But if House is a regionalist by choice, he is the very reverse of parochial. Twenty-one years ago he founded a quarterly, *Books Abroad*. He has served it ever since with unselfish diligence. The least obstrusive of editors, he has managed to fashion the periodical in his own image—keen, sane, and urbane. This little review, so meaty, so varied, so free, so catholic, is his monument. It is a cheering sight to see such an enterprise endure, without any capitulation to the cliques or the hucksters. To most of us Oklahoma means a musical show or Will Rogers. But there are scholars and lovers of literature throughout the world for whom Oklahoma means *Books Abroad* and Roy Temple House.

ALBERT GUERARD

Stanford University, Cal., April 15

A French Philatelist

Dear Sirs: An impenitent stamp collector, as is my eldest son also, I should like if possible to discover correspondents in the United States, Canada, and Newfoundland who might be willing regularly to send me new stamps in current usage in their respective countries. In return I would undertake to supply them with many stamps, often very difficult to obtain from France, at the price of issue. It has occurred to me that in the wide circle of your readers there must be collectors who would be interested in exchanging stamps and philatelic ideas.

J. POTTECHER,
Magistrat, Palais de Justice

Thionville, France, April 1

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THE Nation

AMERICA'S LEADING LIBERAL WEEKLY SINCE 1865

The British Record on PARTITION

as revealed by

British Military Intelligence and Other Official Sources

A Memorandum Submitted to the Special Session
of The General Assembly of the United Nations
April 1948

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The pages which follow present in condensed form a memorandum which was submitted by The Nation Associates to the General Assembly of the United Nations on April 30, covering the British record in Palestine since November 29, 1947. Deletions made in this version merely eliminate the less pertinent parts of certain documents and a section comprising photostatic reproductions of documentary texts.

Additional copies of this supplement may be obtained from *The Nation,* 20 Vesey Street, New York 7, N. Y. at the rate of twenty-five cents apiece.

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INTRODUCTION

The General Assembly of the United Nations, for the third time in twelve months, is meeting to discuss "the future government of Palestine." Discussions are taking place in an atmosphere of violence which may touch off an explosion far beyond the boundaries of the Holy Land.

The question which the General Assembly must face, and world opinion as well, is this: Was an inherent injustice in the November 29 resolution of the General Assembly responsible for the current explosion?

The Nation Associates presents the facts in this memorandum as essential to a wise and just decision. An examination of the facts will show that the present violence in Palestine results from:

(1) British Sabotage of Partition. This British sabotage was deliberately undertaken in order to insure British base rights in Palestine in perpetuity, as well as to safeguard British oil trade and military interests in the Middle East.

(2) Britain's Alliance with Arab League. To achieve these ends, the British have embarked on an alliance with the Arab League, composed of the governments of Egypt, Syria, Lebanon, Saudi Arabia, Iraq, Transjordan, and Yemen. The Arab League, and not the Arab Higher Committee, controls the military and political developments among the Arabs of Palestine. Representatives of the British government were present at the meetings of the Arab League where the revolt was planned and organized and are in continuous connection with it. Within a month after the November 29th resolution the Arabs were encouraged to believe partition would be substituted by a Federal State and arms shipments continued to the Arab States despite their known use for Palestine warfare. On April 28 Foreign Minister Bevin was still refusing to halt them.

The facts will show, moreover, that:

The British have allowed 10,000 foreign invaders to enter Palestine, offering the feeble excuse that the British armed forces, consisting, at the outset, of over 80,000 men, could not adequately protect the border.

Although since December 11, 1947 the British have been promising to return to Transjordan the contingents of the Arab Legion brought to Palestine for police duty, they have allowed the members of that force to remain in Palestine and to attack Jewish communities. The only conclusion to be drawn is that the Arab Legion constitutes a major part of the effort to coerce the Jews into accepting less than the Jewish State granted by the United Nations.

At no time has the British government, in spite of its alleged impotence, requested any help from the United Nations; in fact, as the record shows, the British have continued to deprecate the situation, refused to identify the invaders, and have consistently denied that the Arab states as such are involved.

Through their action they have admitted into Palestine Arabs of known Nazi allegiance in command of the invading forces, and have even admitted escaped Nazi prisoners of war, now to be found in command of Arab detachments.

From secret British Intelligence reports, which are quoted extensively in this record, it is clear that the British know and have always known of every single Arab troop movement in Palestine, and that their relations with the Arabs are such that they could ask Arab leaders to request the invading forces to remain unobtrusive.

British sabotage has resulted in turning Jerusalem into an armed camp, has permitted the Arabs to seize the Old City and to hold as hostages some 2000 Jews.

The British have failed to take any action to insure that Haifa should remain an open city, even though they were fully aware of the desire of local Arabs to achieve this and that the Jews wanted only to be safe from attack.

Their prejudice against the Jews has been clearly indicated in their refusal to allow the Jews to arm for defense against Arab attack, and their blowing up of Jewish defense posts; in their turning over to the Arabs—and to certain death —members of the Haganah; in their confiscation of Haganah arms; in their treatment of Jewish defense personnel as criminals. The British have connived at the starving of the Jewish population of Jerusalem by their failure to keep the highways open. They have refused armed escorts to the Jews.

Their attitude to the Arab community is quite different. By British admission, the Arab com-

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munity has been armed by the British. Arab train robberies, which have been frequent, have been met with shooting over the heads of the robbers. Arab desertions from the police, for the purpose of joining the attackers, accompanied by the stealing of arms, have never been prevented, and Arab violators of the peace go unpunished.

To this record can be added the detailed facts concerning the fashion in which the British have destroyed central authority, and, under the guise of establishing greater local authority, turned over in largest part to the Arabs the various services of the Palestine government created and maintained chiefly by taxation of the Jewish community. Simultaneously, assets have been dissipated and vital communications disposed of to foreign agencies. The effect of this has been to seal the Jewish community in a limited area, cut off its access to the outside world by land and sea, and surround it by Arabs in order to create such a state of siege as would cause the Jews to send up a white flag.

By arrangement with the Arab League, if partition is shelved through any one of several schemes to assure Arab dominance in Palestine, the British are to receive base rights in Haifa, the Negev, and Galilee.

But the British are not depending on Arab promises alone. They have already taken the necessary steps to assure their permanent rights in Palestine to air bases and land and sea communications. To be able to carry out this program, the Mandatory has required a free hand. That is why it has kept the United Nations Commission out of Palestine and refused it cooperation.

The facts contained in this document come for the most part from the confidential reports of British Intelligence.

So intent are the British upon destroying partition that they have shown themselves oblivious to the fact that with it they may destroy the authority of the United Nations, and even the peace of the world.

FREDA KIRCHWEY, *President*
The Nation Associates

I

BRITISH PLEDGE OF COOPERATION NOT CARRIED OUT

On November 13, 1947, Sir Alexander Cadogan, British delegate, told Sub-committee I of the Ad Hoc Committee on Palestine, in reply to a question as to whether the United Kingdom would accept the recommendations of the General Assembly:

> "If the Assembly by a two-thirds majority approves any solution, His Majesty's Government would not take any action contrary to it."

On December 11, 1947, Arthur Creech Jones, British Colonial Secretary, told the House of Commons:

> "I could not easily imagine circumstances in which the United Kingdom would wish to prevent the application of the settlement recommended by the General Assembly."

A day later, Foreign Minister Bevin told the House of Commons:

> "I am not going and His Majesty's Government is not going to oppose the United Nations' decision. . . . There that decision is of that world organism whether we agree with it or not. It is on the statute book of that great organisation. May it be possible to implement it! If it is, and if my colleagues or I can render any assistance, with advice, with help, with our officials, with our administrative ability, with our historical knowledge, to smooth out the transition, to try to prevent the divisions from being widened—in other words to do anything possible to promote concord, friendship and amity between these peoples—we shall do it."

British Pledge to Maintain Peace and Security

A specific promise that the British would maintain law and order in Palestine was made by Colonial Secretary Creech Jones. In the House of Commons on December 11, 1947, he said:

> "So long as the British remained in any part of Palestine they would maintain law and order in the area of which they were still in occupation. . . . It has been made quite clear by the High Commissioner to the leaders of the Jewish and Arab communities that so long as the Mandate continues the Mandatory Government is responsible for law and order and will do its duty in protecting the life and property of citizens irrespective of race. . . . Be-

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tween now and the termination of the Mandate, the British Government in Palestine will remain responsible for law and order."

None of these pledges has been fulfilled.

Colonial Secretary Gives Preview of British Non-Cooperation

Actually, a preview of the form British non-cooperation would take was offered by Creech Jones on December 11, 1947, in the very same speech in which he assured the House of Commons of British compliance with the Assembly's resolution. He then made clear that the primary objective would be an orderly withdrawal of the British from Palestine. Then he set down the following principles:

1. "In order that the withdrawal may be conducted in the most orderly manner and with the least destruction of the ordinary life of the country, it is essential that the Mandatory Power should retain undivided control of the country until the evacuation is well under way. It will be appreciated that the Mandatory responsibility for government in Palestine cannot be relinquished piecemeal. The whole complex of governmental responsibility must be relinquished by the Mandatory Government for the whole of Palestine on an appointed day. . . . And the date we have in mind for this, subject to negotiations with the United Nations Commission, is 15 May." . . . .

2. "As His Majesty's Government have made it clear that they cannot take part in the implementation of the United Nations plan, it will be undesirable for the Commission to arrive in Palestine until a short period before the termination of the Mandate. For reasons of Administrative efficiency, responsibility, and security, this overlap period should be comparatively brief." . . . .

3. "Other matters on which negotiations with the United Nations Commission will have to be made include the proposal in the partition plan that an area situated in the Jewish state, including a seaport and hinterland, shall be evacuated by February 1, 1948. This presents considerable difficulty and must be studied further with the U. N. Commission in connection with the thorny problem of immigration. . . . If the traffic (immigration) is encouraged during the next few months, a grave situation in Palestine will arise which will make an orderly withdrawal and transfer of authority extremely difficult. The camps in Cyprus have also to be emptied.

"The Government are aware of the strong resentment already expressed by the Arab States in regard to what may appear to them as encouragement to immigration for strengthening the Jewish State. It is essential to maintaining orderly life in Palestine, while at the same time, preparing, in accordance with international decision, to transfer authority."

Bevin Refuses to Assign Port

The following day, December 12, 1947, Ernest Bevin, Foreign Secretary, made clear that there would be no consultations with the United Nations Commission, declaring: "that the date for the termination of the Mandate had been fixed."

He told the House of Commons:

(1) "We have fixed, after the most careful consideration, the date of 15 May. (2) We should have liked to have accepted the suggested date in February but we found it physically impossible to do so. [The reference being to the clearance of a port and area for Jewish immigration.]

"I cannot agree to open a port until we lay down the Mandate. We cannot have two administrations at one time. Really, it is impossible."

The security situation was further offered as an excuse for failing to open a port for Jewish immigration, for refusing to permit recruitment of a Jewish militia as provided in the Assembly's resolution.

On March 10, 1948, Creech Jones again told the House of Commons:

"We have been unable on grounds of security to make a port available to the Jews from 1 February for immigration of men and arms. We could not thus render our authority over a part of Palestine while still retaining responsibility for law and order in the country."

He said further:

"We were also asked whether we would agree to allow the provisional councils of the two successor states to recruit armed militias from their residents, leaving political and military control to the Commission. We have made it clear that we could not permit any authority other than our own to exercise governmental functions in Palestine before the end of the Mandate. To allow the recruitment of militias would involve two distinct authorities in the country at one time, one of them taking steps to implement the United Nations plan. Further, such a procedure could not fail to increase immeasurably the possibility of grave disturbances while the Mandate still ran. The suggestion did not take account of the realities of the situation. The possible result of an attempt to form a representative militia for the proposed Jewish State, which includes some 400,000 Arabs in its area, when the Arabs were strongly resisting the implementation of the partition plan, should be apparent to everybody. The objections to this step, of course,

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apply with even greater force to the Jewish request that the Commission should immediately start to establish a purely Jewish militia for the Jewish State, with full training facilities and the acquisition of the necessary equipment and stores."

British Declare November 29 Resolution Unworkable

That same day, moreover, he told the House of Commons the decision was unworkable and forecast that the Commission would be unable to go to Palestine.

"The situation in Palestine has tragically deteriorated since the Assembly resolution. Consequently, the Assembly's plan, conceived as it was in conditions of strong partiality, has in some respects proved impractical and unworkable. . . . It is possible that the Palestine Commission of the U. N. may find itself unable to proceed to Palestine because suitable arrangements have not been made either by the Security Council or by other organs of the United Nations for it to take up its duties there."

On March 2, 1948 Creech Jones, in the Security Council of the United Nations, openly charged the partition plan with prejudice, declaring:

"It is not for me to comment on certain obvious defects in the partition plan which arose from its being conceived in conditions of strong partiality.

"The United States asks us to endorse the plan adopted by the General Assembly. For reasons which we have so often explained, we cannot do so. . . . We cannot participate in any way in the implementation of a plan which involves the coercion of one of the Communities, and in Palestine, that is the larger community."

Small wonder that on April 10 the Palestine Commission reported to the General Assembly that:

(1) Security has not been maintained and that "unless security is restored in Palestine, implementation of the resolution of the General Assembly will not be possible."

(2) That as a consequence of the non-cooperation of the Mandatory power:

"(a) The provisions of the Assembly's resolution for a progressive transfer of administration from the Mandatory Power to the Commission have not been complied with. The Mandatory Power has insisted on retaining undivided control of Palestine until the date of termination of the Mandate and on relinquishing the whole complex of governmental responsiblities on that day, except for the areas still occupied by British troops. In the view of the Mandatory Power the progressive transfer of authority refers only to those areas.

"(b) The Commission could not proceed to Palestine until two weeks prior to the termination of the Mandate. The insistence of the Mandatory Power on this point, even though the Commission has been prepared to restrict its activities in Palestine prior to 15 May 1948, to preparatory work and would not attempt to exercise any authority there, made it impossible for the Commission to take the necessary preparatory measure to ensure continuity in administration after the date of termination of the Mandate.

"(c) The Commission could not take any measures to establish the frontiers of the Arab and Jewish States and the City of Jerusalem, since the Mandatory Power informed the Commission that it could not facilitate the delimitation of frontiers on the ground.

"(d) The refusal of the Mandatory Power to permit any Provisional Council of Government, whether Arab or Jewish, if selected, to carry out any functions prior to the termination of the Mandate, made it necessary for the Commission, in accordance with Part I, B, 4 of the resolution of the General Assembly, to communicate that fact to the Security Council and to the Secretary-General.

"(e) The refusal of the Mandatory Power to permit the taking of preparatory steps toward the establishment of the armed militia, envisaged by the resolution for the purpose of maintaining internal order and preventing frontier clashes, has made it impossible to implement the Assembly's resolution in that respect."

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II

THE INTENTION BEHIND BRITISH POLICY IN PALESTINE

On December 29, 1947, exactly one month following the United Nations decision on partition with economic union, the Lebanese Envoy in London, reporting to the Foreign Minister of Lebanon on a meeting between himself and Foreign Secretary Ernest Bevin, quoted Mr. Bevin as telling him the following: "Now that the question has reached this stage, we are determined to withdraw from Palestine so that Arabs and Jews should remain alone to face each other and the hard facts."

British Aim A Federal State

In the same report, the Lebanese envoy wrote: "Official circles here believe that if America . . . were to change its position . . . the Arabs and Jews would remain alone face-to-face with the facts. The result would then be the attainment of a solution of the question on the basis of a federal state."

United States Minister to Beirut Tells About Federal Plan or Abdullah Conquest

On February 11, 1948, the United States Minister in Beirut, Mr. Lowell C. Pinkerton, informed the United States State Department of the plans being discussed in Lebanon for substituting the partition plan with a new scheme either in the form of a federal state or in the form of a Jewish state within a Greater Palestine. In his communication Mr. Pinkerton wrote:

> "Many Lebanese feel that they have already shown an earnest of their intention to prevent partition at all costs, and that Jews now doubt their own ability to defend the territory allotted to them by the partition plan.
>
> "Two proposals, at least, have been discussed, either of which might be acceptable to a sizeable number of the Arabs. If adopted, the first might be only prelude to the second:
>
> > "1. Revival of the eleventh hour Arab compromise suggestion at Lake Success—cantonization, or a federal state.
> >
> > "2. An autonomous Jewish state within a Greater Palestine, under King Abdullah, which would have all its own machinery of government. It has even been suggested that such a state might take all of the Jews now in displacement camps in Europe, since the question of a majority would not arise. This proposal would certainly meet widespread opposition in Syria, Saudi Arabia and possibly Egypt.
>
> "Visitors recently arrived in Lebanon from the United States are all eagerly questioned on the possibility of a change in the attitude of the United States towards partition, but no satisfactory reply has been received."

British Knowledge of Abdullah Plan to Occupy Palestine

On April 17, a day after the Security Council had adopted a resolution calling for a truce between the Arab Higher Committee and the Jewish Agency, and upon the neighboring states to refrain from activity which would upset the truce, King Abdullah of Transjordan let it be known that he would send the Arab Legion into Palestine to defend the Arabs allegedly against the Jews.

On January 31, The Nation had reported a plan whereby King Abdullah of Transjordan would be permitted to overrun Palestine in exchange for giving up his ambition to establish the Greater Syria Federation through the annexation of Syria and Lebanon.

On February 13 the British Fortnightly Intelligence Newsletter No. 61 HQ Palestine confirmed The Nation's story and anticipated the April 17 declaration of Abdullah. British Intelligence reported that Musa Alami, head of the Iraqui-supported Arab Office, who had been living abroad for a year, had returned to the Middle East.

This is its explanation:

> "Apart from the question of the Arab officers there is reason to believe that Musa Al Ami's visit had certain political implications. It has been rumored that in return for the shelving of the Greater Syria scheme, Syria and the Lebanon may be asked to consent to King Abdullah's occupying Palestine. Musa Al Ami's recent visit to the King may well have something to do with this."

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III

BRITISH REPRESENTATIVES PRESENT WHEN ARAB LEAGUE PROJECTED REVOLT

The Arab revolt was openly projected in the fall of 1947 at the very time when the United Nations were meeting in the regular Assembly session and discussing the Palestine issue. The decision to launch the revolt was made at a meeting of the Council of the Arab League in Sofar, Lebanon.

This meeting was attended not only by the heads of the Arab governments constituting the League, the Mufti and Fawzi Kawukji, later of the Arab liberation army in Palestine, but by Brigadier P. A. Clayton, the British representative in Egypt, and a number of his associates from Cairo and Jerusalem. It was at this meeting that the formation of a so-called volunteer force for the liberation of Palestine was decided upon, as against the use of regular troops of the Arab governments. The decision to substitute so-called volunteer forces for the regular armies was adopted under the influence of Brigadier Clayton and his associates.

The Arab League was in fact first projected in 1943 by Brigadier Clayton who was able to convince Anthony Eden, then Foreign Minister of England, of its usefulness. The League was formed in 1945 and Brigadier Clayton continues to be the only non-Moslem who regularly attends the meetings of the Arab League.

The participation of British representatives in Arab League meetings was confirmed by Richard H. S. Crossman, British M.P. in the House of Commons on December 11, 1947. He said:

> "British diplomacy has, alas concentrated Arab attention to the Zionist issue. At meetings of the Arab League British representatives have been in attendance regularly even when the most violent anti-Jewish actions were approved. We are now suffering the consequences of creating the Arab League on the basis of a single programme of denying a Jewish state to the Jews."

Arabs Careful Not to Attack the British

On March 6, 1948, E. D. Horn, acting for the Chief Secretary of Palestine, addressed a communication to the District Commissioner of Jerusalem, copies of which were dispatched to all district commissioners, asking them to request Arab leaders to see to it that the foreign soldiers in Palestine remained as unobtrusive as possible. In this communication, numbered C.S. 749, and marked "top secret," Mr. Horn wrote:

> "It is the opinion of the Committee that this development greatly increases the risk of clashes taking place between these persons and the Security forces and I am to request that you will take whatever steps are possible to bring this danger to the notice of Arab leaders who would be well advised to secure that the foreign soldiers remain as unobtrusive as possible."

British Condone Invaders

British Intelligence in Palestine is authority for the statement that the Arabs have careful instructions not to fight the British. Fortnightly Intelligence Newsletter No. 61 of February 13, 1948, issued by Hq. British Troops in Palestine, reported that the Arab irregulars are "anxious to avoid being involved with the British troops, in fact, they have orders to surrender rather than fight their way out if challenged by British troops."

The Fortnightly Intelligence Newsletter No. 62, Hq. Palestine, dated February 27, 1948, further says:

> "The Arab leaders are anxious not to aggravate the British in any way but the question is whether so many men, possibly ten thousand of them at present in this country, with their bitter hatred of the Jews and their excitable character, whose sole raison d'etre is the killing of Jews, can hold themselves in check until the British forces have quitted."

In proof of this careful Arab attitude, the Fortnightly Intelligence Newsletter No. 63 dated March 12, by the Hq. British Troops in Palestine, reported the following:

> "18. On three different occasions, the G.O.C.'s car and escort were attacked in the vicinity of Bab el Wad on the Jerusalem-Jaffa road. On the first occasion a Brigadier traveling from Sarafand to Jerusalem in the car was shot at and a bullet penetrated the bonnet. On the second occasion the car was hit three times, once through the door, once through the window and once through the petrol tank. Fortunately there were no passengers and no one was hurt. Two days later the car ran into the line of fire when at Kilo 21 on the same road

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a Jewish convoy was engaged by fire from Arabs. Doctor Hussein Khalidi of the Arab Higher Executive told an officer of this Headquarters that in his opinion the car had not been attacked by Arabs as they had been instructed to avoid conflict with the Security Forces. A phone call received by this Headquarters from a person who claimed to be Abdul Kadir el Husseini, denied that Arabs had fired at the G.O.C.'s car. Arabs held great respect for the British and especially the G.O.C., the speaker claimed."

IV

BRITISH KNOW EVERY ARAB INVASION PLAN

On April 10 the Palestine Commission of the United Nations, in its report to the General Assembly, stated that violence in Palestine as of April 3 has resulted in 6,187 killed and wounded, including 121 British dead, 309 wounded; 959 Arabs dead, 2,118 wounded; 875 Jews dead, 1,858 wounded.

The casualties were inflicted in the course of Arab attacks and Jewish reprisals. Responsibility for the violence rests in chief part on some 10,000 Arab invaders who have entered Palestine as members of the Arab Army of Liberation formed by the Arab League and representing incursions from Egypt, Syria, Lebanon, Iraq, and Transjordan, and upon members of the Transjordan Arab Legion, units of which are stationed in Palestine.

The British government, which maintains a number of liaison officers with the Palestine Commission, has reported to that Commission only six incursions involving small numbers. And it has offered as the excuse for not stopping these incursions the length of the frontier, the difficult nature of the terrain, and therefore the impossibility of one hundred percent frontier control.

Secret British Reports Give Full Data

The fact is, however, that the British are fully aware of every incursion of foreign invaders and their exact deployment. This is indicated in the reports of British Military Intelligence in Palestine and the Middle East. A few typical excerpts from these reports indicate as early as last January the full knowledge of British Military Intelligence, and therefore of the Palestine administration, the British Colonial Office, and the British Foreign Office.

A report on Arab infiltration was offered on January 30, 1948, in the Fortnightly Intelligence Newsletter No. 60, issued by HQ Palestine:

"19. The main item of interest is undoubtedly the arrival of Arab bands from outside Palestine. The figures have varied considerably, but it is thought that they can be put at between 1,000 and 1,500. They are almost certainly members of Fawzi Qauqji's Yarmuk Division, to which reference has been made in previous newsletters. Contrary to numerous rumors, however, Fawzi himself has not entered Palestine. He has constantly stated that he has no intention whatever of returning to this country like a thief in the night as the head of a rabble, and that he will come when preparations are complete and he can do so openly as a soldier."

On February 13, 1948, the Fortnightly Intelligence Newsletter No. 61, issued by HQ British Troops in Palestine, reported:

"More and more Arab irregulars have crossed the Syrian and Lebanese borders and moved into villages in the Safed area and the Galilee hills."

British Intelligence Reports Detailed Invasion Plan

On March 5, in a secret report entitled "Intelligence Summary No. 68," by the Sixth Airborne Division, a detailed record of the Arab invasion was presented.

"12. The infiltration of Arab bands from the neighbouring Arab States is continuing, and an Arab source thought reliable has estimated the strength of the Arab Liberation Army in Samaria as being approximately 5,000, organized into four detachments:

"(a) THE YARMUK: This was the first to arrive and is now located in the Jenin sub-district with its Headquarters at SIR 179196.

"(b) THE HUTTEIN: (Named after the battle of the Horns of Huttin 1187), located in the TULKARM sub-district and reported to be commanded by an Iraqi named NASHED BEY.

"(c) THE HUSSEIN: (Probably named after the Mufti), occupying the TUBAS area but believed to be incomplete. This detachment is said to be equipped with a British type rifle, and to be about 800 strong at present.

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"(d) THE CIRCASSIAN: Composed of about 300 men—a further draft of 300 is expected shortly. This detachment is commanded by an ex-Captain of the Syrian Regular Army, and is reported to be moving into the hills to the west of Nablus.

"Whilst the main Arab Forces are located in the Nablus-Jenin-Tulkarm area, it is known that a strong force is being built up in the Galilee hills and further reports have been received of the movement of small Arab bands across the Lebanese frontier into the villages of Upper Galilee.

"13. According to a reliable source, approximately 1,000 men crossed the Transjordan and Lebanese frontiers into Palestine on 25 February in 100 trucks. These Arab irregulars are reported to be dressed in American type battle dress with orange hattas. One detachment of some 500 men went to the Nablus area via Tubas, and was received by members of the National Committee. A parade was held in their honour attended by Arab Scouts and Youth Organizations. More than 10,000 local Arabs are said to have been present, and the Mayor of Nablus and the President of the National Committee both made short addresses to the assembly. Mohd Saffar, Arab Commander in the Nablus area, then lectured this detachment of newly-arrived irregulars in the Palestine Hotel, Nablus. Following this address which lasted for two hours, the group is reported to have left for the Beisan area where the report states, they will be used in attacks on Jewish colonies which are expected to take place in the near future.

"14. The second detachment, also of approximately 500, are reported to have crossed the Lebanese frontier in the area of Bint Jhall 190280 where they were met by high-ranking officers in the 'National Liberation Army.' This detachment later dispersed into villages in the Upper Galilee area. The report indicates that these 2 contingents are the most well-equipped to cross the frontier to date. They are armed with rifles, Brens and other automatic weapons, and heavier type gun of unspecified calibre for use in the hills. Each man is said to be carrying arms sufficient for two persons, as the band is hoping to be backed up by local guerrillas who will be recruited throughout the area. The leader of the force is an Iraqi officer, who informed local leaders in the Acre sub-district that the detachment would remain in the villages in Galilee as a force available for defence, until orders are received from the Arab Liberation Army Headquarters in Damascus to start the offensive."

British Reveal Kawukji's Entry Into Palestine

On March 12, Fortnightly Intelligence Newsletter No. 63, issued by Hq. British Troops in Palestine, supplemented his report with the following:

"13. The arrival in Samaria of Fauzi Qauqji is definitely confirmed, but he is believed to be paying a short visit only this time. He has indicated his desire not to embarrass the authorities in any way, but when in Transjordan recently it was reported that he talked about renewed activity against Jewish settlements, possibly with the intention of influencing the UN Security Council. It has not yet been confirmed which route he used to enter Palestine although strong rumor has it that he came across Allenby bridge at night."

German Officers and Jugoslav Moslems Join Liberation Army

On January 19, C. T. Evans, the District Commissioner for the Galilee District, wrote to the Chief Secretary of Palestine, Sir Henry Guerney, that the training of the Arab liberation army is by European volunteers and that, in fact, one of the incursions was led by a German officer. In this connection, Mr. Evans wrote:

"There is no doubt that well equipped volunteers are coming across the Lebanese frontier and bivouacking in Palestine in such inaccessible places as Wadi Kurn. They appear to be bound mainly to Jaffa and that such local Arabs trying to join have been turned away. The volunteers are not coming down on the villages for provisioning.

"It is reported that European volunteers are being brought to Syria and the Lebanon as instructors and one of the parties who have crossed the frontier is stated to have been led by a German officer."

On March 12, in the Fortnightly Newsletter No. 63, issued by the HQ British Troops in Palestine, the British revealed the presence in Palestine of non-Arab volunteers as members of the Arab liberation army, including German officers and Yugoslav Moslems. The report declares:

"11. An observer of the Arab scene in Palestine has given an appreciation of the non-Arab volunteers who have been working with Arabs in Palestine owing to allegiance to the Mufti. Firstly there are the Jugoslav Moslems, estimated at less than a dozen in number who are attached to Abdul Qadir Al Husseini in the Jerusalem area. They have had experience in warfare and have expert knowledge of underground activities. Their number is almost certain to be increased later. Then there are three or four German Officers attached to Sheikh Hassan Salameh in areas around Jaffa and

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Lydda. One popular rumor has it that they are survivors of the Germans who parachuted down during the last war in the Jericho region to contact Salameh, with whom they have kept in touch ever since. These Germans refuse to meet any British volunteers. Thirdly, there are constant rumors of some British nationals, but little or nothing is known about them.**

"12. The infiltration of the Arab Liberation Army into Palestine continues, particularly in the Ras el Ain area* and Jaffa, where the new commander, Abdel Bey Najin ed Din, who took over from Abdul Wahab Bey when the latter went to Syria, probably has some 1,500 regulars under his command. The Jaffa-Tel Aviv struggle has already entered a new phase, the Arabs having adopted a plan of attack as opposed to their former policy of defence."

British Know Every Detail of Invaders' Deployment

On March 19, British Intelligence put out a document on the Arab liberation army detailing its location in every area of Palestine, its numbers, and its command as follows:

— ARAB LIBERATION ARMY —

Information as at 19.3.48

General:—G.O.C. Gen. Ismail Safwat Pasha, formerly Deputy Chief of Staff to the Iraqi Army. H.Q. DAMASCUS.

Commands in Palestine:—

North Pal: O.C. FAWZI AL KAUKJI BEY.
2. i/c. MOHD BEY AS SAFA.

East Pal: O.C. ABDUL QADIR HUSSEINI.

West Pal: O.C. SHEIK HASSAN SALAMA.
2. i/c a German Engineer Officer.

South Pal: Acting O.C. Col. Tarik Bey, a Sudanese.

Detail—

North Pal:

Forces at present in this area are mainly concentrated in the SAMARIA district. They consist of four regiments, each of two or three battalions. Total strength is reported as about 4,000. The SAFAD-NAZARETH-ACRE area does not seem to be garrisoned by A.L.A. troops, but is used by troops in transit. Attacks in this area would appear to be the work of local gangs or troops on sorties from Syria.

YARMUK Regt.—O.C. MOHD BEY AS SAFA, Lebanese.

Located in the JENIN area with an H.Q. at SIR 179176. Responsible for the attack on TIRAT TSEVI on 16 February.

HUTTEIN Regt.—O.C. NASHED BEY.

Located in the area south of TULKARM, with a battalion 600 strong under an Iraqi at RAS AL AIN 144167. Responsible for the attack on MAGDIEL 141 174.

HUSSEIN Regt.—O.C. ABDUL WAHAB.

Located North of TULKARM, with an H.Q. at ATTIL 157197. Responsible for the attack on MARBATA 15282070 on 28 February.

CIRCASSIAN Regt.—O.C. ISSAN BEY.

Located in the NABLUS area. Reported to have made no attacks as yet.

East Pal:

Forces are mainly in the JERUSALEM area. They consist of HUSSEINI gangsters and do not appear to be properly organised or disciplined.

West Pal:

Area corresponds to the Civil District of LYDDA together with that part of the GAZA District North of a line AL MAJDAL 111119 to FALUJA 126114.

JAFFA area—O.C. Lt. Col. ADEL NAJM AD DIN BEY.

Strength reported to be more than 2,000 men, possibly part of the YARMUK Regt. This garrison includes YUGOSLAVS trained in sabotage.

RAMLE area.

Strength two battalions of 500 men, each commanded by an Iraqi Captain. One battalion H.Q. reported at 13671504; the other at SALAMA village.

South Pal:

H.Q. of the district is at MUGHAZI camp 091092.

JULIS area.

1,000 men reported to be forming up at JULIS camp 119122, which is at present commanded by Capt. IBRAHIM ISDAR, a Syrian. This area may be used as a base hospital.

GAZA area—MUSTAFA AL WAKIL bn, an Egyptian unit, is at Gaza air field 199198. 200 men are reported at MAGHAZI.

A training camp is in the process of being established at NABI HUSEIN 108118.

*Area of the water pipe line to Jerusalem, mined by Arabs on April 8.

**Despite this, Foreign Minister Bevin still says he has no knowledge of non-Arab fighters in Palestine.

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V

ARAB LEGION CANNOT MOVE WITHOUT BRITISH SIGNAL

On December 12, 1947, Foreign Minister Bevin told the House of Commons that the units of the Transjordan Arab Legion would be withdrawn from Palestine. He said:

> "I was asked a question about the Arab Legion. I should explain that this is a Force which owes allegiance to the King of Transjordan, but units of it have, for some time, been serving under the orders of the British G. O. C. in accordance with a long standing arrangement with King Abdullah. It has been decided that all these units will be withdrawn from Palestine at the same time as the withdrawal of the British Forces. That withdrawal will be completed when the withdrawal of the British Forces is completed."

British Promise to Withdraw Arab Legion from Palestine

But on April 16, these units numbering some thousands were still in Palestine, encamped near the units of Arab invading forces, still engaged in a series of unprovoked aggressions on peaceful Jewish residents and passersby. On that date Sir Alexander Cadogan told the Security Council: "We have already announced that the units of the Arab League in Palestine will be withdrawn before the Mandate comes to an end."

The following day, however, on April 17, King Abdullah of Transjordan announced that he would send his Arab Legion into Palestine to help the Arabs, and was seconded by his Foreign Minister, a threat which has since been repeated. On April 26, King Abdullah announced that on May 1st he would march into Palestine in personal command of the armies of Transjordan, Syria and Lebanon.

Could King Abdullah carry out his threat without British knowledge and consent? The facts show that Transjordan is a military appendage of the British and could not act without their knowledge and consent.

The Arab Legion, regarded as the finest military force in the Middle East, is under the command of a Britisher, Brigadier J. B. Glubb. The Legion is organized, trained, officered, and paid for by the British government at a cost of more than $7,500,000 annually. Nonetheless, Foreign Minister Bevin told the House of Commons on April 28:

> "I am not going to be drawn into promises and commitments about the Transjordan Force until I know the final decision of the U. N. on Palestine."

Do the British Control the Arab Legion?

The first partition of Palestine took place in 1922 when the British separated Transjordan from it. In January 1946, Great Britain, without the consent of the United Nations, announced the independence of Transjordan which, since 1922, had been governed under the Palestine Mandate.

On March 22, 1946, the British Government announced the conclusion of a Treaty of Alliance with Transjordan, which recognized Transjordan as an independent Kingdom, and the Emir Abdullah as its sovereign. In an annex to the Treaty, provision was made for British bases in Transjordan and the training of the armed forces of that country by British military personnel.

On March 15, 1948 a new Treaty of Alliance was signed between Transjordan and Great Britain. Under the new Treaty, Britain continues its annual grant for the maintenance of Transjordan's armed forces. Brigadier John Bagot Glubb, commander of the Transjordan Arab Legion, retains his post under King Abdullah. The British are responsible as well for equipping the Legion, and supply, in addition to Brigadier Glubb, more than 40 British senior officers.

Provisions of 1948 Treaty with Transjordan

Under the March Treaty, the British receive the right to maintain units of the R. A. F. in Transjordan. The British finance the maintenance and development of airfields, ports, roads and other lines of communication. The British undertake to train Transjordan Forces in the United Kingdom or in any British colony. In Transjordan joint training operations are to be maintained with the British providing training personnel. The British undertake to provide arms, ammunition, equipment, aircraft and other war materials; all Transjordan war materials to be standardized with that of the British. The British receive port rights. To carry out the military alliance a permanent Joint Defense Board has been set up.

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VI

THE BRITISH "PROTECTION" OF JERUSALEM

On December 11, 1947 Arthur Creech Jones, Secretary of State for the Colonies, told the House of Commons:

> "Up to the date of the relinquishment of the Mandate the Palestine Government remains responsible for the security of Jerusalem and its Holy places."

But not even the special position of Jerusalem has deterred the British from sacrificing it to its own plans for an Arab alliance.

To be sure, soon after the passage of the November 29 resolution, the British government did cooperate with the Trusteeship Council of the United Nations in drawing up a draft statute for Jerusalem establishing it as an international city under international trusteeship. But when the Arab Higher Committee objected to its efforts on the score that it was implementing one of the November 29 General Assembly resolutions, the line of cooperation was dropped and supplanted by the line of capitulation.

Under the guise of a spurious neutrality it made possible a series of events initiated by the Arabs which have splattered the sanctity of the Holy City with blood.

Thus, thanks to British neutrality:

1. Ben Yahuda Street, the chief commercial center of Jewish Jerusalem, was bombed.

2. A band of the Mufti's henchmen, calling itself the Arab National Guard, could seize and hold with impunity the Old City of Jerusalem, where the ancient shrines of all the religions are to be found; and keep 2000 Jews as hostages. The British have even concluded an agreement with this band permitting passage to distribute food and other supplies.

3. Thus the Arabs could bomb the offices of the Jewish Agency on March 11, killing 13 and wounding forty-five.

4. The Arabs could on April 13, within full sight of a British army post, attack a Hadassah medical convoy flying a medical symbol in the course of which 76 persons were killed and 20 wounded. The casualties included the Director of the Hadassah Hospital, Dr. H. Yassky, doctors, nurses, and other medical personnel, as well as academic staff including scientists attached to the Hebrew University of Mt. Scopus.

This attack took place within two hundred yards of a British Army Post. Iraqi soldiers were among the Arab gangs which attacked the convoy. The attack lasted for six hours before the eyes of the British Military, who not only failed to halt the attack, but prevented the Haganah from coming to the rescue.

The April 13 attack was the climax of a series begun on December 30, 1947. Continuous complaints and a request for protection of the road, which leads to the Hadassah Hospital and the Hebrew University, had been made by the Jewish Community Council of Jerusalem and by Hadassah itself.

The area requiring protection was half a mile in length on the Scopus Road. Between March 26 and April 6 no incidents occurred. On December 27 the Arab Higher Committee, and on January 13 the Palestine Arab Medical Association issued memoranda asking the Arabs to refrain from attacking hospitals, ambulances, doctors, nurses. None the less, these attacks were accelerated. On March 17 Abdel Kadi el-Husseini, then the Arab Military Commander in the Jerusalem area (subsequently killed by the Haganah) publicly announced that he would occupy or even demolish the Hadassah Hebrew University Medical Center.

Despite the full evidence concerning this, no effective action was taken by the British.

On April 13 British soldiers watched the Arab onslaught, and instructed the Haganah not to send reinforcements. When Jewish reinforcements finally reached the scene, they were blocked by the British. When British troops ultimately intervened they fired mortar shells not only at the Arabs, but at Jews trying to defend themselves from the Arabs.

When Jacques de Reynier, representative of the International Red Cross, attempted to arrange a truce, it took the British five and one-half hours to bring M. de Reynier to the scene of the attack, which is not more than a 10-minute ride from the heart of Jerusalem.

Not even the events of April 13 caused the

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British to safeguard the road, with the result that on April 24 the Hadassah Hospital had been, for a week, without food replenishments.

When on April 25, the Haganah attempted to insure safe passage on the road and captured a key Arab attacking post, Sheikh Jarrah village, the British in force encircled the Haganah and compelled their evacuation.

5. Though the Mufti's Organization, the Arab Higher Committee, with its headquarters in Jerusalem is directing the whole operation, not one of its leaders has been arrested.

On the contrary, the British have refused permission to the Jewish population to organize their own defense.

They have blown up Jewish defense posts.

They have advised the Jews to evacuate the commercial section of Jerusalem.

The British authorities are conniving at the starving of the Jewish population of Jerusalem.

They have failed to protect the highways and refused to allow armed escorts and self-arming by the Jews.

British Attack Jews

When the Jewish Agency told the UN Palestine Commission that the Jews of Jerusalem were starving because of Arab road blocks on the road from Tel-Aviv to Jerusalem, and that the British Government had neither offered to escort food convoys nor stipulated conditions under which escort might be provided, J. Fletcher Cooke, British Liaison with the UN Commission, replied on April 12, 1948 with an attack on the Jews.

He said:

"It should be emphasized again that the problem is not one of food shortage in Palestine as a whole. The Government of Palestine has reported that there is food available in Palestine to maintain the necessary supplies for Jerusalem. The problem is entirely one of the transport of this food from the ports to Jerusalem.

"It may be added that transport by rail to Jerusalem is ruled out because, even if trains succeeded in escaping Arab attacks or sabotage en route, the railway station at Jerusalem is in a predominantly Arab area, and the Arabs would not permit off-loading of food destined for the Jews. Any attempt to do this would result in a major engagement."

He then proceeded to place the blame on the Jews.

"(2) Very early in the disturbances which have occurred in Palestine since 29 November, 1947, attacks on traffic using this road were made by both Jews and Arabs. It is difficult to say who initiated these attacks, but it is fairly certain that firing action was first taken by the Jews after their vehicles had been stoned by Arabs in Ramleh.

"(3) The situation then developed into a fight for control of the road. The Arabs, no doubt in order to facilitate action by their troops, withdrew all their own vehicles from the stretch of the road in question and were then secure in the knowledge that any civilian traffic which they cared to attack must be Jewish.

"(4) The Jews then appealed for assistance. During December certain escorts were provided by the Army and the Police; but it became the Jewish practice to produce at the convoy rendezvous more vehicles than had been arranged for, with the result that the escort provided was insufficient. The blame for this was laid by the Jews on the Government of Palestine."

He then charged the Jews with being responsible for the failure of their food convoys to get through because of "the employment by Jews of long slow columns of armoured and unarmoured vehicles."

The British representative also disclosed an attempt to get Arab permission for Jewish food convoys, "provided nothing but food was carried; that Jewish accompanying personnel were reduced to a minimum and that convoys were subject to search at some selected point."

Mr. Fletcher Cooke was greatly surprised that Jewish Agency officials refused this offer of capitulation to the Arabs.

British Draft Capitulation Under Truce Guise

Last month the British were agents for another proposal for capitulation by the Jews. Mr. R. Graves, nominated by the Palestine government as the Chairman of the Municipal Commission of Jerusalem, drafted a peace project for Jerusalem, later amended by Sir Henry Gurney, the Chief Secretary of Palestine.

This peace project proposed that "all armed men should leave the portion of the Old City occupied by Orthodox Jews whose safety would be guaranteed by the Arabs if this were done. And the old Montefiore quarter should be similarly evacuated by all armed men and placed

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under the protection of British forces and the municipality."

Other provisions of the plan were:

"(a) Each Community should for the time being restrict the movement of its members to its own areas which will be policed by its own members of the Municipal Police Force.

"(b) Each Community should solemnly undertake not to attack the other by sending armed men into that Community's area or by firing from one area into another.

"(c) Each Community should bind itself to exercise the utmost self-restraint, and control the violent elements in its midst.

"(d) Each Community should refrain from retaliation and reprisals, which can only make it more difficult for the leaders of either Community to prevent further attacks and counter-reprisals. This recommendation is the most difficult of fulfilment, but it is the most important of all.

"(e) Each Community should fully respect all vehicles carrying the Red Cross, Red Crescent or Red Shield, and should undertake that any such vehicle would not be used for any purpose not authorised by these signs.

"(f) Passage by members of one Community through the territory of the other would be permitted in the case of funeral parties or revictualling parties under a flag of truce. A minimum number of omnibuses should be permitted to operate.

"(g) No armed men should be permitted to live within any area reserved for the other Community."

On March 9 Mr. Graves told the Chief Secretary, Sir Henry Gurney:

"I have the honour to inform you that I have handed copies of my Peace Project for Jerusalem as amended by you, and with a few minor additions, to Dr. Hussein Khalidi, Secretary of the Arab Higher Committee, and Mr. David Ben Gurion, Chairman of the Executive Committee of the Jewish Agency for Palestine.

"2. Dr. Khalidi was very polite and thanked me for my initiative, promising to submit the Project to his Executive. He has now sent me a letter, of which I enclose a copy, stating that he and the Higher Executive consider that the arrangements contemplated are premature at the present stage.

"3. I saw Mr. Ben Gurion yesterday and discussed the Project which had been in his hands for a few days.

"4. He disagreed with the number and the variety of the clauses, and would not accept the proposal that the Jews of the Old City should be guaranteed by the Arabs after the withdrawal of the Haganah which he said was insulting to Jewry, and considered that the proposed restriction of Jews to Jewish areas and Arabs to Arab areas was undesirable and offensive to both Communities.

"5. However, he said that he and the Yishuv were very anxious for the peace of Jerusalem and were prepared to undertake that not a shot would be fired by any Jew in the City for a specified agreed period—a week, a month or a year—if the Arabs would make and observe a similar undertaking. When I mentioned that he might have some difficulty in making Jewish dissidents comply with such an undertaking, he said that he would be able to do so.

"6. I promised to convey his views to the Arab Higher Executive."

The Breakdown of the Jerusalem Water Supply

On April 8, 1948 an Arab mine blew up the main water pipeline to Jerusalem at Ras-el-Ain. For seven hours water flooded the fields. The line was finally repaired by the Haganah and British army engineers.

The British authorities claimed that the destruction of the pipeline was accidental and that the Arabs did not know that the pipeline passed under the road at the point where the mining operation took place. But the revelations of British Intelligence on March 12 contradicts the British assertion.

Until the end of World War I Jerusalem was dependent upon wells and cisterns. After World War I Jerusalem began to bring its water from two nearby sources, Solomon's Pools, south of Bethlehem, and the spring of Ein Farah, six miles from Jerusalem. In 1937, to meet the needs of a growing population, the Palestine government built a pipeline bringing water from the coastal plain, Ras-el-Ain, forty miles from Jerusalem, which was pumped through the hills to Jerusalem and supplies Jerusalem with 1,500,000 cubic metres of water annually.

The pipeline runs entirely through Arab territory. Part of the area through which the pipeline runs was captured by the Jews, but a 20-mile section from Ras-el-Ain to Bab el Wad remains under Arab control, exposing the pipeline to continuous danger of being cut.

The chief victim of an interruption of the water supply would be the Jewish community of Jerusalem. Most of the Arabs in Jerusalem have cisterns and wells.

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But the fact of the matter is that the threat to the Jerusalem water supply has been so serious and constant that as far back as January 1948 negotiations were begun by the Chairman of the Municipal Commission, Mr. R. N. Graves, in an effort to safeguard the water supply station. Ultimately the station at Ras-el-Ain was abandoned to Iraqi armed troops which took over the military camp there. And Mr. Graves withdrew his demands for protection when the Lydda District Commissioner and the military commander of the South Palestine District explained that security forces were not inclined to drive them out by force and the Haganah probably could not do so.

Today, the sole deterrent to another attack on the pipeline is the supposed desire of the Arabs to maintain the water supply for their own use.

VII

MUFTI TURNED DOWN REQUEST THAT HAIFA BE DECLARED AN OPEN CITY

On April 22, the city of Haifa was captured by the Haganah and the Arabs sued for peace. That same afternoon the representative of Syria, Faris el-Khouri, complained to the Political Committee of the General Assembly of the United Nations at Lake Success concerning what he called the massacre of Arabs. But the fact is that it was the Mufti, Chairman of the Arab Higher Committee, who prevented Haifa from being declared an open city. And it is the British Intelligence in Palestine which is the authority for that statement.

Nor did the British make any attempt to assure this even though as far back as December, Creech Jones in the House of Commons, anticipated disturbances in that city.

In its Fortnightly Newsletter No. 61, dated February 13, 1948, the British Intelligence reported the Arab effort to make Haifa an open city.

> "Toward the end of January a delegation representing all classes of Arabs from Haifa, headed by Archbishop Hakim, visited the Mufti in Cairo with the intention, it was rumored, of obtaining support for a plan to declare Haifa an 'open city.' It was unsuccessful. (However, it is learned that all sections of the Arab community have been placed under the command of the Haifa Arab national committee, who feel that it is in their own interest to maintain peace in the city for as long as possible. This, and the fact that the moneyed Jewish community in Haifa wishes for peace, provides some grounds for the hope that order may be maintained there for some time. Both communities are well armed and tension of course exists. The situation depends entirely upon the control the leaders of both factions are able to maintain over their more irresponsible followers.)"

On April 24, Sir Alexander Cadogan told the Security Council that the Syrian charges were without justification and that in fact only about 100 Arabs had been killed.

From Jerusalem, Sir Allan Cunningham, British High Commissioner, informed the British Foreign Office that the attacks had been started by the Arabs and that the charges of massacre were untrue. The exoneration of the Haganah by the British represented the first such action in recent disturbances in Palestine.

The fact is that Haifa had been one of the areas in Palestine where the most friendly relations existed between Jews and Arabs, not only during the recent conflict, but as a matter of record even during the 1936-1939 disturbances.

The most recent disturbances in Haifa are due to the incursion of foreign Arabs. These foreign Arabs conducted a continuous warfare, attacking the Jewish residential area and Jewish traffic, inviting Jewish retaliation.

The Commander of the Haifa Legion, until he was killed, actually was a Lieutenant in the Transjordan Arab Legion and his identity card is produced elsewhere in this document. On March 9, 1948, an advertisement by him appeared in Al Urduni Amman daily. The advertisement declared:

> "Muhammed Bay el Hamad, Commander of the Haifa region announces that he is prepared to accept volunteers of all ranks who have previously served in the Arab Legion or the Transjordan Frontier Force. The registration of such volunteers will take place in Haifa."

The presence of Germans and Nazis in the Arab ranks in Haifa was revealed by the Haganah in the truce terms which it laid down. These truce terms asked for the deportation of all foreign Arab fighters from Haifa and the handing over to the British military authorities of all Germans and Nazis in Arab ranks. Five Nazis

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were handed over. The safety of all citizens was guaranteed by the Haganah which asked for the laying down of arms and the surrender of them to the Jews, as well as a 24-hour curfew in order to arrange for the disarming.

The presence in Haifa of well armed foreign invaders, as far back as March 5, was verified in Intelligence Summary No. 68 of the Sixth Airborne Division. Reporting on the Haifa area, it said:

Haifa Area

"At a recent meeting of Arab Commanders in the Haifa area it was decided that a request be sent to Syria for the assistance of a further 100 trained street-fighters to assist in attacks planned against the Jews. Pending the arrival of these men, Mohd Bey El Hamed, the Arab Commander in Haifa, ordered that bomb attacks against the Jews were to be postponed for the time being, as he considered that such attacks would only provoke reprisals which the Arabs are not yet in a position to counter effectively. He, however, gave instructions for squads of nine men from the Munazzamat Fi Di'aya (Arab Commando Organisation) to be formed to carry out attacks against Jewish traffic on the roads leading out of Haifa. Three taxis are reported to have been allocated for this purpose. The 'Commandos' are said to be armed with Stens, TMGs and grenades.

"Further supplies of arms and ammunition are known to be arriving in Haifa to replace those confiscated by the Army during searches in town. On 22 February, seven Bren guns together with 5,000 rounds of ammunition are reported to have arrived in Haifa from Damascus, and the following day 15 boxes of grenades and 3 machine-guns were brought to Haifa by a Druze from Syria. Considerable quantities of explosives and 'Molotov Cocktails' are said to have recently arrived, together with five bomb experts from Syria. These bomb experts are stated to have already prepared three bombs of considerable size for use against Jewish targets. Several local Arabs have been attached to this group for instruction in the manufacture of bombs. A further report indicates that 25 Yugoslavian bomb experts are en route to Haifa from Damascus to assist in the preparation of bombs to be used in attacks on Jewish quarters in the town."

VIII

ARAB GOVERNMENTS BEHIND INVASION OF PALESTINE

On February 16, in its first report on security to the Security Council, the Palestine Commission stated:

"(a) The security situation in Palestine continues to be aggravated not only in the areas of the proposed Jewish and Arab States, but also in the city of Jerusalem, even in the presence of British troops.

"(c) Powerful Arab interests, both inside and outside Palestine, are defying the resolution of the General Assembly and are engaged in a deliberate effort to alter by force the settlement envisaged therein."

If the activity of the Arab League, comprising the states of Egypt, Syria, Iraq, Lebanon, Saudi-Arabia, Yemen and Transjordan, all members of the United Nations except Transjordan, were not sufficient evidence that the Arab States as such are in revolt against the November 29th decision of the General Assembly, British Intelligence reports offer proof of the support by Arab Governments of the armed invasion of Palestine by the so-called Arab Army of Liberation.

Thus the Weekly Intelligence Report No. 45, issued on January 16, 1948 by the HQ British Forces in the Middle East (M. E. L. F.) reported: "The training of volunteers in Syria is with government help and the contribution of materials by the Lebanese government." This report says:

"E. Syria

"The 'Palestine Liberation Army' is reported to be organised in four 'divisions', though as yet little is known of these beyond their names, which are the 'Qiadet el Yarmuk' (or Holy Battle Brigade), 'Haj Amin' (named after the Mufti), 'Fawzi Kawukji', and 'Palestine Federation'. The training centre at Qatana outside Damascus is working to capacity, and there is good reason to suppose that training is going on in other parts of the country as well, assisted by the Syrian Army. Volunteers from universities and schools, probably numbering some 5,000 in all, are being trained in elementary military subjects, though their supplies of arms and equipment are at present very limited. For the regular forces, the Government passed, in December, a conscription law, whereby all men over the age of 19 must do up to two years' military service, followed by 18 years on the reserve. Exemption from this service is said to cost £1,000 but it is not known how many have as yet taken advantage of the concession."

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"F. Lebanon

"The Lebanese contribution to the Palestine 'war effort' will, it appears, be confined to the provision of materials rather than men. Owing to the pro-Jewish attitude of the Lebanese Christians, who form a considerable proportion of the population, no training will take place in the country, but the best of those who wish to volunteer will be selected and sent to the Syrian centres. The government has ordered the C-in-C of the army to purchase a quantity of small arms and ammunition, tenders for which have been invited from both Czechoslovakian and Belgian companies, as was done in Syria a month ago."

The press of the Arab countries has revealed that the recruiting regulations for the so-called Arab volunteers were issued by the Syrian Minister of Defense; that the Syrian Prime Minister himself supervised the training of troops for war in Palestine at the Qatana Barracks in Syria; that the President of the Syrian Republic presided over the meeting on February 5 at his official residence where the commanders were appointed of the Arab forces of invasion.

There is ample evidence, further, that the Egyptian government has made financial allocations for operations in Palestine, that it has allotted military barracks at Hilmiyeh and Helwan for the training of troops, and that the Lebanese Prime Minister announced on February 25 his government's intention to supply Palestine with arms, money, and men.

On February 13, 1948, the Fortnightly Intelligence Newsletter No. 61, issued by Hq. British Troops in Palestine, reported on the visit of the Mufti, who is chairman of the Arab Higher Committee, with the President of Syria, and on his meetings with the military committee of the Arab League. The report detailed the decisions reached with respect to the military campaign in Palestine as follows:

"Haj Amin el Husseini visited Damascus at the beginning of February and had talks with President Kuwatly. On 4-6 February he attended meetings of the Arab League Military Committee there, presided over by Taha el Husseini with Subhi el Hadra present. Further in the military organization of Palestine it was decided to divide the country into four major fighting zones. The Mufti proposed that each zone should have two commanders of equal status, one nominated by the Arab Higher Executive and the other by the Arab League military committee. Taha el Husseini, however, insisted on a single commander for each zone and finally it was agreed that under General Ismail Safwat as Commander in Chief, Abdel Kader el Husseini should command the Jerusalem zone, Hassan Salame the Jaffa-Jerusalem road areas, Fawsi Kawujki the Nablus Tulkarm area and that the southern sector should be operated under Egypt. A delegate of the Arab Higher Executive is to be attached to each Commander. The Mufti returned to Cairo in time for the ten-day Arab League Council meeting there on 7 February."

How the Arab governments have gotten around the use of army regulars is further revealed in the Fortnightly Intelligence Newsletter No. 62, HQ Palestine, dated February 27, 1948:

"20. In Jaffa, Colonel Abdul Wahab Bey arrived with 100 Iraqis who are said to be regular soldiers temporarily retired for the Palestine venture. The Colonel was formerly in an Iraq Tank Regiment and took part in the 'Golden Square' rebellion during the war, as a result of which he spent three years in prison. He speaks English fluently, is displaying a pro-British attitude and discourages any action that would bring the Arabs into conflict with the Security Forces. His presence has had a decidedly pacifying effect on the local population similar to that in the forces in Samaria. Naturally enough the ex-gang leaders of the 1936 Arab revolt accept his presence and what amounts to military governorship with considerable reluctance. Sheikh Hassan Salameh still remains in charge of the guerrillas in the area."

Thus British Intelligence challenges the claim on March 16, 1948 of Faris el Khouri, Syrian delegate in the Security Council of the U. N., that "The Arab States, including Syria, have not interfered by taking part in these encounters."

On March 12, 1948, the Fortnightly Intelligence Newsletter No. 63 reported that:

"7. The Arab League's Palestine Committee held a brief meeting in Damascus on 4 March to discuss the Palestine military situation. It is generally believed that as a result of this meeting the military situation will enter a new stage during the forthcoming weeks and this will be in the form of increased large scale operations. In addition the committee discussed the first aid arrangements for Arab wounded, the construction of field hospitals on the Palestine Syrian frontiers and future administrative arrangements for Palestine. After this first session it was decided to postpone the meeting of the committee indefinitely."

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X

STRINGENT MEASURES AGAINST THE JEWS

In contrast with the attitude of the British toward the Arabs and the Arab incursionists is the stringent measures undertaken to prevent the Jews from getting arms.

The following series of communications exchanged in the early months of 1948 are illuminating. As this correspondence indicates, the British were attempting to prevent any possibility of the Jews receiving arms at a time when no obstacles were being placed in the way of armed Arab incursions and attacks on Jewish Palestine:

"To S.P.* Haifa.

"Your attention is invited to the Defence (Emergency) Regulations published in Palestine Gazette 164 Supplement No. 2 providing powers for the Port Authority to control ships in the territorial waters of Palestine. The purpose of these regulations is to deal with the possibility of arms smuggling to Tel-Aviv Port where there are only Jewish Customs Staff. There is reason to believe that the importation of arms and explosives through Tel-Aviv Port will be attempted from U. S. and Yugoslav ports. It will therefore be desirable that ships from these ports should be required to discharge all cargo at Haifa only. If no approach has yet been made on the subject I feel that you should see the General Manager Pal. Rly., and perhaps the Port Manager to consider what steps will be necessary to implement the new legislation.

(Sgd) Fforde
**AIG CID"

"To: S.P. Haifa 2.2.48

"I am writing about the implementation of the Defence (Emergency) Regulations H 48 published in Palestine Gazette 164, providing powers for the Port Authority to control ships in the territorial waters of Palestine. (This office letter of even number dated 19/1 refers).

"O'Sullivan tells me that he saw you about this matter last Thursday. The position, now, as I understand it, is that some ships, including American vessels, normally discharge at Breakwater and Stevedores are mixed Jews and Arabs. Customs normally examine any such cargo as is actually discharged. There does not appear to be much opportunity for the evasion of Customs examination though it is possible for a ship lying out (and a good many ships have to do this) to discharge illegal cargo by night on to small craft and so get it ashore. But it appears that some ships, for recent example the 'Exporter' are allowed to proceed to Tel-Aviv afterwards, after first being directed to Haifa, and so get an opportunity to discharge 'hot' cargo. The 'Exporter' discharged a quantity of apples at Tel-Aviv after first having been directed to Haifa. Of course there would have been ample opportunity to discharge illegal arms etc. and so defeat the whole object of the new legislation. Surely a ship is not being allowed to go to Tel-Aviv once it has been found necessary to direct it from there, unless steps have been taken to ensure that nothing is left on board which it is not desired should be landed (which I very much doubt).

"Would you please take up this aspect of the matter and let me know the outcome.

(Sgd) Fforde AIG CID"

"To: I.G. Secret No. CS/758
18/2/48

"I am directed to append the following extract from a letter received from the General Manager, Palestine Railways, regarding the enforcement of directions given by him as Port Authority under the Defence (Emergency) Regulations made on 10/1.

'I should be grateful to know whether I should be in order in invoking the assistance of the R.N. if any vessel should fail to comply with any order given by me prohibiting the vessel from entering any port or the territorial waters of Palestine.'

"The Naval authorities have been consulted and have indicated that in their view the primary responsibility for enforcing compliance rests with the Police to whom the Port Authority should apply for assistance, if he considers it necessary.

"Only in the event of the Police being unable to enforce compliance would the RN be prepared to intervene. The application for Naval assistance would be made by Police and NOT by the Port Authority.

"I am to request you to state whether you concert with the procedure suggested.

G. G. Grimwood
for Chief Secretary"

*Superintendent of Police.
**Acting Inspector General Criminal Investigation Department.

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British Attempt to Charge Jews with Responsibility for Violence

At the same time, in the United Nations, the British are making a concerted effort to involve the Jews on an equal plane with the Arabs in offensive violence in Palestine has been undertaken by the British. Thus on January 21, 1948, the Mandatory power told the Palestine Commission, as regards Arabs and Jews in Palestine, that "elements on each side were engaged in attacking or in taking reprisals indistinguishable from attacks."

This statement ignored the fact that only a month earlier, Creech Jones, Colonial Secretary, told the House of Commons on December 11: "There have been serious disturbances in Palestine since the United Nations' decision was announced, due mainly to Arab incitement".

The attempt to place blame on the Jews for the current violence was continued in the answers which the United Kingdom delegation gave to a series of questions asked by the four permanent members of the Security Council at an informal meeting on March 9.

On March 12, the answer submitted in behalf of Sir Alexander Cadogan, reveals the bias of the Mandatory power:

Question 6: "To what extent are disorders inside Palestine due to participation by armed elements from outside Palestine?"

Answer 6: "The present series of disturbances began in December last against a background of Jewish inspired disorder which had been going on for 2½ years. The Arabs implicated in this series of disturbances were originally all Palestinians. Since then both Palestinian and non-Palestinian Arabs have been engaged."

Question 7: "To what extent are disorders inside Palestine attributable to incitement to violence from outside Palestine?"

Answer 7: "As far as the Palestine Arabs are concerned, their opposition to partition is spontaneous and universal. Inflammatory material has appeared in the press of the neighbouring Arab countries, although the situation in this respect has recently improved. On the Jewish side, widespread propaganda has of course been conducted for some time in the press of the United States and other countries by persons and organisations inciting the Jewish community to violence and terrorism principally against the Mandatory power."

Asked whether arms are flowing into Palestine from outside sources to individuals or groups unauthorized by the Mandatory power to possess arms, the United Kingdom gave the following answer:

"Both Arabs and Jews in Palestine are now receiving illicit consignments of arms from outside sources. While the Palestine Government have no exact knowledge of the quantity and description of arms possessed by either side, it is their opinion that the Jews are better armed than the Arabs. In this connexion it will be recalled that there have recently been instances of the seizure in the United States by United States authorities of large consignments of high explosives destined for Jewish organizations in Palestine.

"As regards the possibility which has been suggested of illicit importation of arms by aircraft landing in the desert, the Palestine Government consider this unlikely. Such clandestine importation by air would, however, be easier for the Jews than for the Arabs, in view of the better facilities possessed by the former for wireless communication and for distribution of arms after receipt."

In response to a question as to what measures, military and civil, the British took to prevent the movement of hostile elements in Palestine from outside Palestine, the British again tried to implicate the Jews, putting Jewish refugees seeking asylum on the same plane with armed Arab invaders:

"The principal points of entry by land are guarded by troops or police but owing to the length of the frontier and the difficult nature of the terrain, it is impossible for frontier control to be one hundred per cent effective. As regards the sea frontier, the measures taken by the mandatory authorities to prevent the entry of Jewish illegal immigrants are well known."

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XI

BRITISH PRO ARAB BIAS

Quite different is the attitude of the British to the Arabs. When asked by the United Nations whether the incursion of Arabs from neighboring countries represents a threat to international peace, the representative of the British government replied that his government "would furnish all the facts available" and the "the question of what constitutes a threat to the peace is for the Security Council to decide." This despite the fact that Creech-Jones, anticipating trouble, told the House of Commons on December 11: "The Security Council may have to be evoked by the United Nations Commission if insurmountable difficulties occurred."

And when the United Kingdom was asked to identify Arab personnel who have invaded Palestine, and to say whether the incursions were privately organized or are supported or encouraged by governments outside Palestine, the United Kingdom's answer on March 12 was an attempted exoneration of the Arabs, as the following indicates:

Question 2: "Has the Mandatory Power been able to identify personnel involved in such incursions?"

Answer 2: "The information of the Palestine authorities regarding the origin of personnel involved in these incursions is derived from common knowledge available locally and from intelligence reports. As regards the character of these forces, they consist of irregular formations and not organised units of any national armed force."

Question 3: "Are these incursions privately organised by individuals or unofficial groups, or are they supported or encouraged by Governments outside Palestine?"

Answer 3: "H.M.G. have no special information on this point other than that given in the answer to question 2."

British Praise Invaders

In fact in February, 1948, the British were finding praise for the Arab invaders as a stabilising element, offering the following proof as reported in the Fortnightly Intelligence Newsletter No. 61:

> "In Nablus itself the good behavior of the Arab invaders is having a stabilising effect on the untrained and excitable Palestinians. A complaint was made to them recently that a lorry load of wheat had been stolen and £20 robbed from the driver. In a very short time the lorry and load had been returned and also the £20, together with a further £60 which it was explained was the fine imposed on the thief. A local villager, a spectator to this transaction, became a little vociferous. Two hours later he was dead. Four Arab train robbers have recently been dispatched to Syria by Fawzi Kawukji's men for execution."

On March 10, 1948, Mr. Rees-Williams, Deputy to Arthur Creech-Jones in the British Colonial Office, replied to questions in the House of Commons as to whether he was aware (a) that Fawzi Kawukji had established field headquarters in Palestine; (b) whether he was aware that an Arab liberation force had declared martial law in Nablus; and (c) what the government was proposing to do with respect to the incursion of Fawzi Kawukji and his followers. He said:

> "The High Commissioner has informed me of a local rumour that Fawzi Kawukji recently arrived in Palestine and is in the Samaria district . . .
>
> "The developments referred to by my hon. Friend in the Nablus area appear to be a measure adopted by the leaders of Arab irregular forces to control their adherents and represent no attempt to replace or curtail the authority of the Mandatory power in this area. The District Commission of the Samaria district continues to reside in Nablus and his headquarters and sub-district officers are functioning normally. Palestinian members of the Police Force continue to perform their normal duties throughout the district under the supervision and control of British police officers. The District Commissioner is in a position to call for the assistance of such miltary forces as he may require to assert the authority of the civil power. The security forces in Palestine will continue to protect members of either community who may be threatened with attack."

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XII

BRITISH SMEAR CAMPAIGN SHOWN BY OFFICIAL RECORDS

The smear campaign conducted by the British against the Jews, since the Russian vote for partition in the Fall Assembly, has taken the form of charging Communist infiltration, with Jewish help, into Palestine.

A striking example of this was the charge which the British Foreign Office has allowed to be brought against the Jews in connection with the arrival in Palestine on January 1 of the Pan York and the Pan Crescent, two ships which sailed from Rumania at the end of December carrying unauthorized Jewish immigrants. The British Foreign Office first permitted Mr. Herbert L. Matthews of the New York Times to charge that among the 15,000 immigrants were "many Communist agents, according to official British sources."

The Times story dated London January 31, charged that "one thousand of the 15,000 immigrants spoke Russian, belonged to militant organizations. Some may have been non-Jews and some had documents showing that they had served in the Soviet forces during World War II."

The Times story said further that "the immigrants on these vessels and the number of others that sailed earlier from the Black Sea were collected and sent toward Palestine with the knowledge, and sometimes with the active connivance, of the Soviet Union and its satellites, according to British officials."

Later the British Foreign Office said the same thing. When this story first appeared Sir Godfrey Collins, Commissioner for the Jewish immigration camps in Cyprus, said he had no information on the subject. Subsequently, on February 5, the British Foreign Office and Colonial Office queried Sir Godfrey, and a London dispatch to the Times on February 5 stated that Sir Godfrey had denied that he had stated that there were no Communist agents aboard the ships. But a few days later he repeated he had no information on Communist agents.

Actually the top secret report of the British representative Captain Linklater who supervised the disembarkment of the refugees at Cyprus said, [in a preliminary report—marked "preliminary" only because of the size of the disembarkment—dated January 2, 1948]

"If any large guerrilla groups of Communists exist among the Russian speakers of this shipment, they are either still on board or else have arrived unarmed and without documentation."

And Captain Linklater further explained:

"Extremely large numbers of private documents, related to individual points of the journey, were taken from the Jews as they passed through the security screen at the reception camp, thereby showing a high breakdown in Jewish security. In addition to this a number of passengers were willing to discuss details . . . No documents of outstanding importance were found."

The Pan York, Pan Crescent story is revelatory of the lengths to which the British are prepared to go to smear the Jews. As soon as the boats had left Balkan waters, British officials sent a cable to their Intelligence officers in Palestine stating that the British surmise that Communists are aboard.

As a result, when the boats landed at Cyprus, for the first time in the history of Cyprus, baggage and documents of the refugees aboard the boats were searched.

The flimsy evidence on which the charges against the Jews was based is revealed in the following partial record of Captain Linklater:

Top Secret

Preliminary Report on the Disembarkation from the Pan Ships, York and Crescent

General

1. A peculiar disembarkation of some 15,300 Rumanian Jews began at about 1000 hours on 1 January 48 in Famagusta Harbour when the 2 Panamanian vessels Pan York and Crescent, which had been bound for the shores of Palestine volunteered to discharge their passengers in Cyprus ....

Passengers

4. Rather like the previous illegal Jewish ships which sailed under Soviet auspices from a Bulgarian port, the Pan York and Crescent contained a load drawn almost entirely from Rumania and differed at least in this way from

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other illegal immigrant vessels which usually contain a mixed bag of European Jews. It is also noticeable yet once again that the passengers have apparently been evacuated from Rumania by complete families including aged grandparents and very young children. In many cases these families were split up between the 2 ships.

5. The highest proportion of children in the past year was contained in these ships and the load was almost equally divided between men, women and children, some of whom however may later be counted as adult by the Jewish Agency representatives. The Pan York alone carried 700 children under the age of 5.

6. The passengers were small businessmen, shopkeepers, professional lawyers and doctors, and they carried large quantities of baggage. The Haganah authorities in Rumania had allowed them to carry up to 20 kilos of baggage each, but there was no form of weight control and this allowance was frequently exceeded. They were well dressed. Only very few turned up in rags and empty-handed. Most of them were small, rather fat and complacent. They nearly all spoke Rumanian, Yiddish and French and German. Those who did not speak Rumanian, spoke Russian and claimed to come from Bessarabia. Owing to the speed at which the operation had to be conducted, it was not possible to make a detailed examination of the Russian speakers. It was noticed however that they were not physically of a characteristically Russian type ....

Documentation

25. An analysis of documents carried and political parties on board will be produced in the final report by 299FS Sec after scrutiny of documents held by them....

Conditions in Rumania

29. Most of the passengers on the Pan Ships were agreed that there were still a large number of Rumanian Jews who wanted to leave the country for Palestine. In several cases they explained that these Jews would be awaiting the increased legal immigration quota which they hoped for as a result of partition. They thought therefore that there would not be any more large illegal shipments at least for the next month and they believe that their Communist Government will grant them exit visas to correspond with their certificates after May.

Conclusions

30. The following conclusions may be drawn from the above evidence:

(a) That if any large guerrilla groups of Communists exist among the Russian speakers of this shipment, they are either still on board or else have arrived unarmed and without documents.

(b) That the movements, planning and administration of the final evacuation from Burgas at short notice was well and thoroughly carried out.

(c) That the Moscow controlled Communist Government of Rumania intended at all costs to evacuate this shipment of Jews and came to an agreement with Bulgaria to use a Bulgarian Port for this purpose after the delay at Constanza due, probably, to British representations. The abdication of King Michael at this juncture may well be NOT coincidental.

Famagusta, Cyprus
(Detachment)
2 January 48

Actually, only five young men were taken off the boat by British Intelligence agents. All the remainder of the passengers were taken directly to the camps where no subsequent searches or interrogations took place. The five young men were interrogated by a member of the Palestine Criminal Investigation Department who had been sent to Cyprus in order to conduct the investigation. He told them outright that he was concerned only with information about Soviet activities in Bulgaria and Rumania, with particular reference to Soviet ship movements in the Black Sea and Soviet troop movements in Rumania and Bulgaria. When the questions failed to elicit any information the five immigrants were slapped and kicked and finally returned blindfolded from the interrogation center to the camp under escort. There were no further interrogations of passengers.

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XIII

BRITISH DISSIPATE PALESTINE'S ASSETS

On December 11, 1947, Arthur Creech Jones told the House of Commons:

> ". . . We certainly did not wish to leave Palestine in disorder after the tremendous and costly contribution Britain has made in developing Palestine and discharging our responsibilities under the Mandate. . . . I can assure the House that we shall wind up our affairs in Palestine in a fair and reasonable manner and, I hope, with little suspicion and ill feeling about the arrangements we make."

This is a promise honored only in the breach.

The refusal of the Mandatory power to permit the Palestine Commission to reach the country until May 1st, two weeks before the scheduled termination of the mandate, was predicated on the intention, as the facts substantiate, to dismember the Palestine administration so as to have little or nothing to turn over to the Palestine Commission, and to take such action as would safeguard British interests after the end of the mandate.

Today, virtually all departments in the Palestine government have ceased to function. The exceptions are those like the Palestine Broadcasting Service, the Attorney General's office and the Chief Secretariat, which serve the British primarily.

Railway and Port Services Collapsing

1. Typical examples of collapsing public services are the railways and the port services, so that it appears unlikely that after May 1 any operating system will exist. Yet this did not come as a sudden development. Actually the Chief Secretary had received a number of warnings concerning such an eventuality as early as December 17, 1947 from the manager of the railways, Mr. A. F. Kirby.

On that date Mr. Kirby wrote to Sir Henry Gurney as follows:

> "If there is to be no satisfactory transfer of function through the U. N., I consider that a collapse of the services is likely to come about some time before the termination of the mandate."

In the same letter, he expressed his anxiety concerning the disposition of the property of the railroads:

> "If there is to be no handing over, what will be done with all the rolling stock on various parts of the system, who will take over the stations, buildings, valuable work shops, the permanent way, etc.; how will rolling stock on foreign railways be accounted for; what will happen to goods in transit, etc., etc. . . . There must obviously be some process of handing over—and an orderly handing over would take several weeks. . . .
>
> "The railways outside the Haifa enclave cannot well be operated separately, in that the main locomotive running shed, workshops, and operational and maintenance headquarters are in Haifa. Withdrawal into the enclave and the operation of the railway therein only for military evacuation purposes would entail the most effective frustration possible to a succeeding authority. This course would also cut off the supplies of bulk oil and other essential supplies which are now distributed by rail to the main centers of population. The closing down of the main workshops and other activities of the railway following the termination of the mandate would probably mean that the railway would not be able to operate again for a prolonged period."

Three days later, on December 20, 1947, Mr. Kirby again wrote to the Chief Secretary, this time about the port situation, declaring:

> "There is nothing that this administration or the Director of Customs can do to ease the situation there. Pressure of financial interests is the only possibility of being effective in solving the present situation at Haifa port."

Willing to Isolate the Jews

The Mandatory was willing to allow this breakdown on the assumption that Jewish need for supplies would force the Jews to keep roads open for themselves as well as the British. If the Jews failed, they could starve and for military purposes the British could make other arrangements. This was clearly indicated last November 27, two days before the General Assembly passed its partition resolution, in instructions issued by the Chief Secretary of Palestine to military commanders and heads of government departments. In his directive of that date, he stated:

> "(a) Activism in Jewish areas is likely to be negligible. Jews cannot afford to close roads for supplies upon which they depend as

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their areas are not self-supporting. They will therefore do all they can to keep the roads open. Should, however, the situation develop adversely and supplies through Jewish areas not be possible, the following roads will be followed: Gaza-Haifa, Jerusalem-Haifa.

"(b) More serious will be Arab troubles, which may assume large proportions and likely constitute a serious threat, specially in the hilly country. Arab villages and town are self-supporting and the populace can forego a great deal—Jews cannot—and can therefore hamper seriously without much harm to themselves. Serious troubles may not come about until the end of the citrus season.

"Military authorities will decide in concertation with government from time and time as to the methods which should be adopted to safeguard military supplies."

Government Disposes of its Property

2. As early as April 1 the Land Settlement Department closed down its offices. This was done after the head of the department, R. F. Jardine, sold out the lands in the state domain to private persons, mostly Arabs. Parcels of land in the Haifa Harbor Estate were sold by him. All plans and documents relating to irrigation projects in Palestine were shipped by him to the United Kingdom. Water installations were handed over to the Arab town and village councils. Having closed his offices he secured release from his post and has now been named by the Iraqi government as its irrigation expert.

No Possibility of Handing Over Land Registry to U. N. Commission

3. The land registers have been distributed by the Palestine government among several centers while micro-films of these registers have been shipped to England. The effect of this is to create chaos in the event of any disputes arising on land questions.

This has been done despite the fact that on January 5, 1948, the Solicitor General of Palestine, M. J. P. Hogan, wrote to the Chief Secretary:

> "Under the law at present, any disposition of land, which has not yet received the consent of the Director of Land Registration and is not perfected by the registration of a deed, is void. This means that if the land registries are closed, no valid disposition of land can be made.
>
> "I understand that the Director of Land Registration has suggested that the land registries should be closed at least two weeks before the termination of the mandate, and, should the end of the mandate be followed by an interregnum in the whole or any part of Palestine, it will not be possible there to make any valid disposition of land during that time."

Disruption of Postal Services

4. The disruption of the postal service has ensued as a result of instructions to create a vacuum. This is confirmed by Mr. Eric Mills, Commissioner of Withdrawals, who wrote:

> "The Postmaster General is proceeding in circumstances of great difficulty with his plans for withdrawal, but his recommendations on important point . . . have been made on the assumption of a vacuum."

On December 3, 1947 Mr. Mills in a circular to heads of departments and district commissioners declared:

> "You will observe that the information called for . . . makes no distinction between withdrawal leaving a vacuum or handing over to a UNO Commission. The reason for this lack of differentiation is that in either case a certain amount of derangement must be expected. . . ."

Artificial Deficit Produced

5. The Palestine Commission has charged the British government with deliberately inducing a deficit where a surplus existed and thus creating ensuing financial and economic difficulties. Four specific charges in this connection are made by the Commission in its reports submitted both to the Security Council and to the General Assembly.

It is stated that the deficit was created by the Mandatory power by charging against its funds what the Commission called "certain extraordinary items", such as the maintenance of Jewish illegal immigration camps, and the payment of pensions to British civil servants. The Commission objected to both these charges.

As a further means of creating a deficit the British paid out £300,000 recently to the Supreme Moslem Council, knowing full well that the treasury of this organization represents the war chest of the Mufti.

The lack of a working fund, moreover, according to the Commission, has been created by the action of the Mandatory power on March 20, 1948 in freezing an unspent balance of £P3,000,000 remaining from three issues of bonds made in Palestine since 1947. This balance was invested in British securities, pending a general financial

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settlement, and the Mandatory power had decided not to make any disbursements from this total prior to the termination of the mandate. These transactions were brought to the notice of the Commission only after they had been arranged.

Discussing the disappearing surplus, the Commission charged on April 10, that "the disappearance of the existing treasury surplus is almost entirely due to special and extraordinary claims," which the Commission feels "should not have precedence over securing essential food supplies and the provision of essential working funds."

The Commission also expresses fears concerning the control of the Haifa dock by the Mandatory power, pointing out that "the ordinary revenue of Palestine after May 15 will depend in a high degree on customs duties on imports. These imports will come in mainly through the port of Haifa. Hence the fiscal position . . . will depend partly on the manner in which the control of the Haifa dock will be shared with evacuating troops between May 15 and August 1.

As a consequence of these acts, Palestine was in danger of suffering a famine as a result of food shortages which would be created by the termination of the mandate. Although the Palestine Commission had been discussing this problem for months, and had even sent a special representative to London to take this matter up with the Mandatory government, no agreement was reached. The excuse of the British government was that it could not undertake to make commitments for food after May 15 as it had no funds with which to do so. Moreover, it refused to advance the money to the Palestine Commission even on the promise that the United Kingdom would be reimbursed from the future revenues of Palestine.

On April 19 a private arrangement was agreed to by the importing firm of Steel Brothers in Palestine. The arrangement is with Steel Brothers, the Jewish Agency, and certain Arab Chambers of Commerce, and involves a transaction of about $5,200,000.

Under this arrangement Steel Brothers will guarantee to bring into Palestine until July 15 normal food supplies in the amount of some 30,850 tons. Steel Brothers will advance 80% of the cost of wheat, meat, and sugar to be imported. The Jewish Agency will pay for 20% of the food going to the Jews, and the Arab Chamber of Commerce, 20% for food going to Arabs. The food will be imported and delivered to the warehouses of Steel Brothers in Haifa. Distribution to the Arab and Jewish groups is left to the two communities.

Palestine Excluded from Sterling Area

6. The Palestine Commission also charged financial complications resulting from the action taken by the Mandatory power of February 22, 1948, without consultation or even information to the Commission, blocking the accumulated Palestine sterling balances held in London and excluding Palestine from the sterling area.

The Commission describes the effect of this act as creating uncertainty among Palestine importers, and says that it regards that the release of the sterling balances in particular is essential; otherwise, "sterling may become a scarce currency of Palestine, and imports from the sterling area may be difficult to obtain."

XIV

THE BREAKDOWN OF CENTRAL AUTHORITY

A continuous transfer of authority to municipal corporations and local councils by the Palestine administration has been going on based, not on a desire to prevent chaos, but rather to destroy central authority, to undermine partition, and to pave the way toward a revival of a scheme for a federal Palestine, which is the real British desire.

Preparations for this transfer were made as far back as February 14, 1948 by Sir Henry Guerney, the Chief Secretary. In a communication on that date to heads of departments and district commissioners throughout Palestine, he proposed:

> "I am directed to refer to the preliminary advice which has been given to you by the Commissioner on Special Duty to the effect that it is hoped that various government activities, buildings, stores, etc., will be transferred as it were in trust to local authorities until a new central authority makes other arrangements.
>
> "Action in this direction has been taken in

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certain matters such as water supplies where experience is advisable and central government staff is still available to give advice and assistance. I am now to require you to communicate to the District Commissioner of the District concerned full information regarding all other activities, buildings and stores which you consider might be similarly placed with local authorities if the U.N. Commission in Palestine prove not to have the necessary powers and staff to perform all the functions of the Palestine Government.

"I am also directed to say that a decision whether each such activity or property will finally be handed over to a local authority will depend on consultation with the U.N. Commission; but, unless the necessary preparatory work is done on this provisional basis, there will be not enough time later to make definite arrangements under the general assumption which governs this direction."

In February, 1948 a special law, to amend the Municipal Corporation Ordinance of 1937, was enacted empowering municipal corporations and local councils to collect property taxes due up to April 1, 1948, and thereafter, for the fiscal year 1948-1949.

The purposes of this new law were explained by the Attorney General in the following terms:

"It is anticipated that during the year 1948-49, the councils of municipal corporations and local councils will have to carry out many of the functions which would normally be carried out by Government, and consequently they will need additional sources of revenue. On the other hand, they may not be able to obtain from the Government the grants-in-aid which they have received in the past.

"Government has therefore decided to enable such councils to collect and recover arrears of urban property tax remaining due on the first day of April, 1948, and urban property tax due in respect of the year 1948-49, and this draft Ordinance is designed to give effect to that decision.

"Arrangements will be made for the handing over to such councils of the records relating to the house property and land in respect of which they will be entitled to collect and cover urban property tax, and such councils will be empowered to do such acts as may be necessary to ensure that those records will be kept up to date.

"Furthermore, in order that it will not be necessary to prepare during the year 1948-49 valuation lists to replace those valuation lists which on the first day of April 1949 will have been in force for five years, the period of validity of valuation lists has been extended from five to six years."

Anticipated No Successor Government

The draft law, it was explained in a communication by Mr. L. B. Gibson, Attorney General of Palestine, to Sir Henry Gurney, was in anticipation of the possibility of no successor government being named. He declared:

"My view is that it is not for this Government to legislate for things after the termination of the Mandate—at least if there is some other Government which enjoys legislative authority after that date. We should, however, make available our draft to the Commission, and there would be advantages in publishing it as part of the Bill so that any public comment would be available for the benefit of the Commission. We should, no doubt, inform the Commission that, although we had published the Bill in its entirety, we did not intend in fact to enact the Second Schedule ourselves, but there is a further question of whether we should tell the public the same thing when publishing the Bill for public information. On the whole I think it is unnecessary to do so, because in the event of there being no successor Government, we might enact the Second Schedule before we leave, but we do not want to discuss such possibilities in public notices."

Arabs Chief Beneficiaries of Transfers

As a result of this special legislation the three regions heavily populated by Jews, have been placed under Jewish control. All the remaining regions have been left to the Arabs. The exceptions are Jerusalem, Haifa, the Valley of Ezdraelon, and Eastern Galilee.

Ceded to the Arabs were such important installations as the water plants at Ras-el-Ain and Safed.

In addition, the Arabs have received most of the government services including Health, Education, Social Welfare, Agriculture and Broadcasting Departments—services which are paid for by the taxes imposed on the population to which the Arabs, constituting two-thirds of the population of Palestine, contribute 26%, and the Jews, 74%.

In dividing the assets of the country the British allocated for themselves the Haifa enclave with all its services and installations.

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XV

HOW THE BRITISH SAFEGUARD THEIR INTERESTS IN PALESTINE

While liquidating the mandate, the British have concentrated on safeguarding in perpetuity the British hold in Palestine in key areas, including Haifa and the Negev, and to insure uninterrupted lines of communication by air, sea and land.

New Laws to Assure British Airfields in Palestine

1. Thus on March 2, 1948 the Attorney General of Palestine drafted a law, the purpose of which is to establish the legal basis for transferring airfields or other lands now held in the name of the High Commissioner, to various British Ministries for War, Air, or to the President of the Air Council in London. In particular, the new legislation aims to assure continued British control of the RAF stations in Aqir, Ramle, Gaza, as well as certain property in Jerusalem.

Preparations for this action began in October 1947 while the General Assembly for the United Nations was in session.

On October 19, 1947, in a secret dispatch cabled to the Air Ministry in London from Air Headquarters Levant, the Air Ministry was informed that, in view of the political situation, legal difficulties might arise with respect to the property bought by the Air Ministry in Palestine, held in the name of the High Commissioner, in trust for the RAF. In subsequent cables, in view of the pending liquidation of the Palestine government, warning was given that the British government might lose control of these assets, and that action was necessary. This is explained in the following exchange of cables:

From Air Headquarter Levant
To Air Ministry

"OX 303. Oct. 19. Secret. Subject—Registration of Properties acquired in Palestine on behalf of R. A. F. One. All property bought by Air Ministry in Palestine held in name of High Commissioner in trust for R. A. F. leases held name of High Commissioner in trust for R. A. F. held similar manner. Two. In view political situation of entries in Land Registry appear to be open to objection from legal point view. Three. Palestine Government decision made into whose name this property and leases should be vested. Four. Request you advise."

From Air Ministry London
To HQ MEDNE

"F. 7283/4 Nov. unclassified.
Reference Levant signal 0.303 October repeated to you on subject registration of properties acquired in Palestine on behalf R. A. F. Colonial Office had no knowledge of this question and we find it difficult to know precisely what is the tenor and purpose of Palestine Government's suggestion. Request you investigate and advise us in greater detail what are Government's proposals and why they are put forward. We are quite ready to consider them."

From A. H. Q. Levant
To Air Ministry

"0.63 Nov 12. Secret. Your F. 7283 Nov 4 and my 0.303 Oct 17. Subject—Registration of properties acquired Palestine on behalf R. A. F. One. On acquisition it has been customary to enter this property in the Land Registry in the name of the High Commissioner in trust for the President of the Air Council or in some cases the Secretary of State for Air. The position of trust in Palestine law is obscure and this form of registration may be open to objection on that account alone. In addition registration in name of High Commissioner might give rise to difficulties particularly when Government of Palestine is transferred from High Commissioner to Palestinian or to a U. N. O. authority and it seems desirable that the land should be registered directly in the name of whatever authority the Air Force considers most appropriate either the President or the Air Council, the Air Council or the Secretary of State for Air. Two. Legal advice is that if properties remain in name of High Commissioner there is risk that we may lose all chance of realising value or of retaining control of these assets. Three. Main properties concerned are R. A. F. stations Aqir, Ramle, Gaza and certain property in Jerusalem."

As the result of this exchange a draft law was prepared by the Attorney General transferring the land now registered in the name of the High Commissioner to the British Secretary of State for War, the British Secretary of State for Air, or the President of the Air Council in London.

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In submitting a draft of this proposed law to the Chief Secretary of Palestine the Attorney General stated:

"It is probable that when all parties concerned have approved the substance of the Bill, we shall convert it into an Order under the Palestine Order In Council, 1948. But I think that the first step is to get the earliest possible consideration by the parties concerned."

The Transfer of the Hejaz Railway

2. Early in 1948 the Hejaz Railway linking Palestine, Transjordan, and Syria was transferred by the Palestine Government to the Government of Transjordan. The explanation given was that actually the British Government was the Mandatory power, initially for Transjordan as well as Palestine, and therefore was trustee for Transjordan.

Transfer of the El Kantara-Rafa Line to the Egyptian State Railways

3. On April 1, 1948 the El Kantara-Rafa Railway Line was turned over to the Egyptian State Railways by the Palestine Government. The Egyptian Railways System is partially controlled by British capital. Moreover, the El Kantara-Rafa Line links with Rafa in the Southern Negev, now being transformed into a military base by the British.

By disposing of the El Kantara-Rafa Railway and the Hejaz Railway, the British government has attempted to seal off Jewish Palestine from access to the outside world.

The El Kantara-Rafa Railway is the principal Palestine railway connection to the outside world and consists of three sections: (1) The El Kantara-Rafa line which starts at El Kantara in the Suez Canal, continues across the Sinai Peninsula into Rafa, Palestine; (2) The Rafa-Lydda link to Jerusalem; (3) The Rafa-Haifa connection.

The Kantara-Rafa line, built by the British during World War I, was owned by the British government, with a 12% share of the capital held by the Palestine government. Until its transfer it had been operated by the Palestine Railways in behalf of the British government. All profits have gone to the British government with the exception of 12%, the proportion to the Palestine government. The Rafa-Haifa line was sold to the government of Palestine after the establishment of the Mandate.

In disposing of the El Kantara-Rafa line to the Egyptian Railways, which British capital also owns, the British have assured themselves a continuous railway connection from the port of Haifa to Egypt where their soldiers are still stationed. They have also assured a railway link between their new military encampment at Rafa and their military encampment in Egypt. At the same time, by placing this railway link in the hands of the Arabs, they have placed the railway access of the Jewish community to the outside world at the mercy of the Arabs.

The Hejaz Railway, built by the Turks, has been under British control, although its ownership remains in dispute. In a survey of Palestine submitted to the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry by the Palestine administration, it is stated that the Hejaz Railway "is operated by Palestine Railways in behalf of His Majesty's Government who hold it in trust."

The Hejaz Railway runs from Damascus, Syria to Ma-an, Transjordan, from Ma-an to Haifa in Palestine. Two branch lines from Haifa run from Haifa to Acre and from Haifa to Zamakh in Palestine, which is just south of Lake Tiberias.

The effect of the transaction is to assure British rail connections from Haifa to Transjordan and uninterrupted military links between the military enclave in Haifa and the British military base in Transjordan which continues to exist under the new British military Treaty with Transjordan.

British Establish Negev Foothold

4. A main military base has been established by the British at Rafa at the Southern border of Palestine.

To insure undivided control, the British authorities three days after the passage of the partition resolution by the United Nations General Assembly, which gave the Negev to the Jewish state, invited the Jews to evacuate the area. The ostensible reason was the inability of the British to protect the Jews against Arab aggression. The real reason was the desire of the British to hold the whole of the Negev as a base for themselves.

Ask Jews to Leave Base Area

On December 2, 1947 the British Assistant District Commissioner for the Gaza District, W. F. M. Clemens, informed the representatives of the Jewish settlements in the South, that he could

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not see how Jews could be protected against Arab attack. He suggested the Jewish settlement south of Gaza-Beersheba be transferred to the north of this road.

Two days later, on December 4, the Jewish representative was summoned by Brigadier Nelson, the Commanding Officer of Camp Julis, who reiterated the request for evacuation, again on the score that the Jews could not hold out against Arab attack even for a few minutes. The offer was declined.

Thus far the Jews have retained every settlement in the Negev, as elsewhere throughout Palestine.

British Government Grants New Concession to the Iraq Petroleum Company

5. In March, 1948 the British government granted a new concession to the Iraq Petroleum Company in the form of a right to build a second pipe line terminating at Haifa.

The Iraq Petroleum Company holds the exclusive concession to the oil fields of Iraq, Qatar, the Trucial Coast, Muscat, Oman.

A 23¾% interest in the Iraq Petroleum is held by the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company, in which the British Government owns 50% of the shares. Royal Dutch Shell, closely allied with British interests, holds a similar percentage. The French interests own 23¾%, and American interests, (Socony Vacuum and Standard Oil of New Jersey) 25%. Five per cent is owned by Participations and Investments, Ltd.

The excuse offered for the granting of this concession four months after the United Nations decision, without consultation with the United Nations or the Palestine Commission, is that it represented the conclusion of discussions entered into in March of 1947.

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